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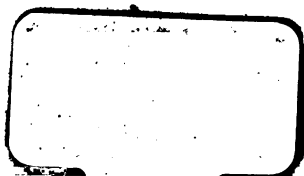
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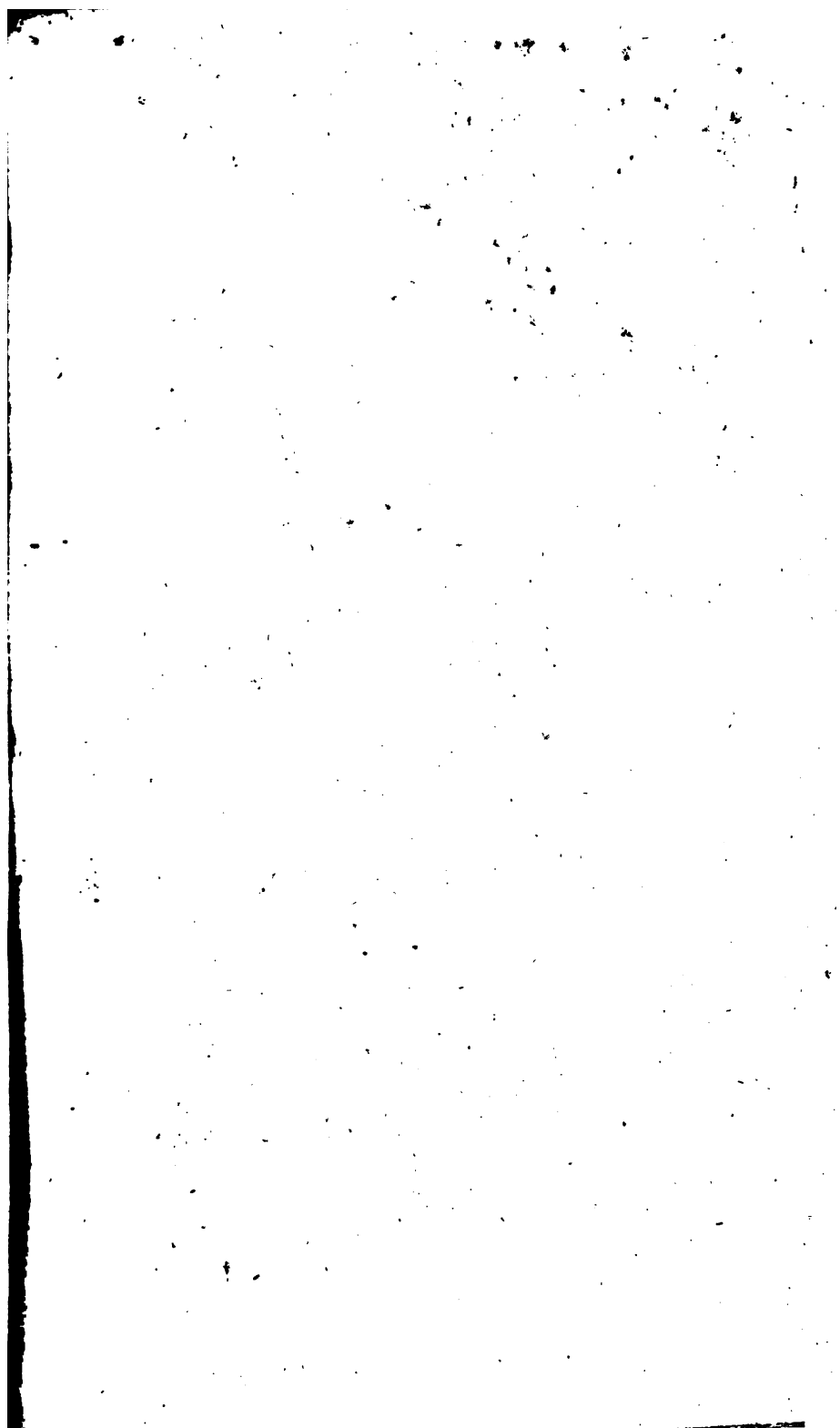
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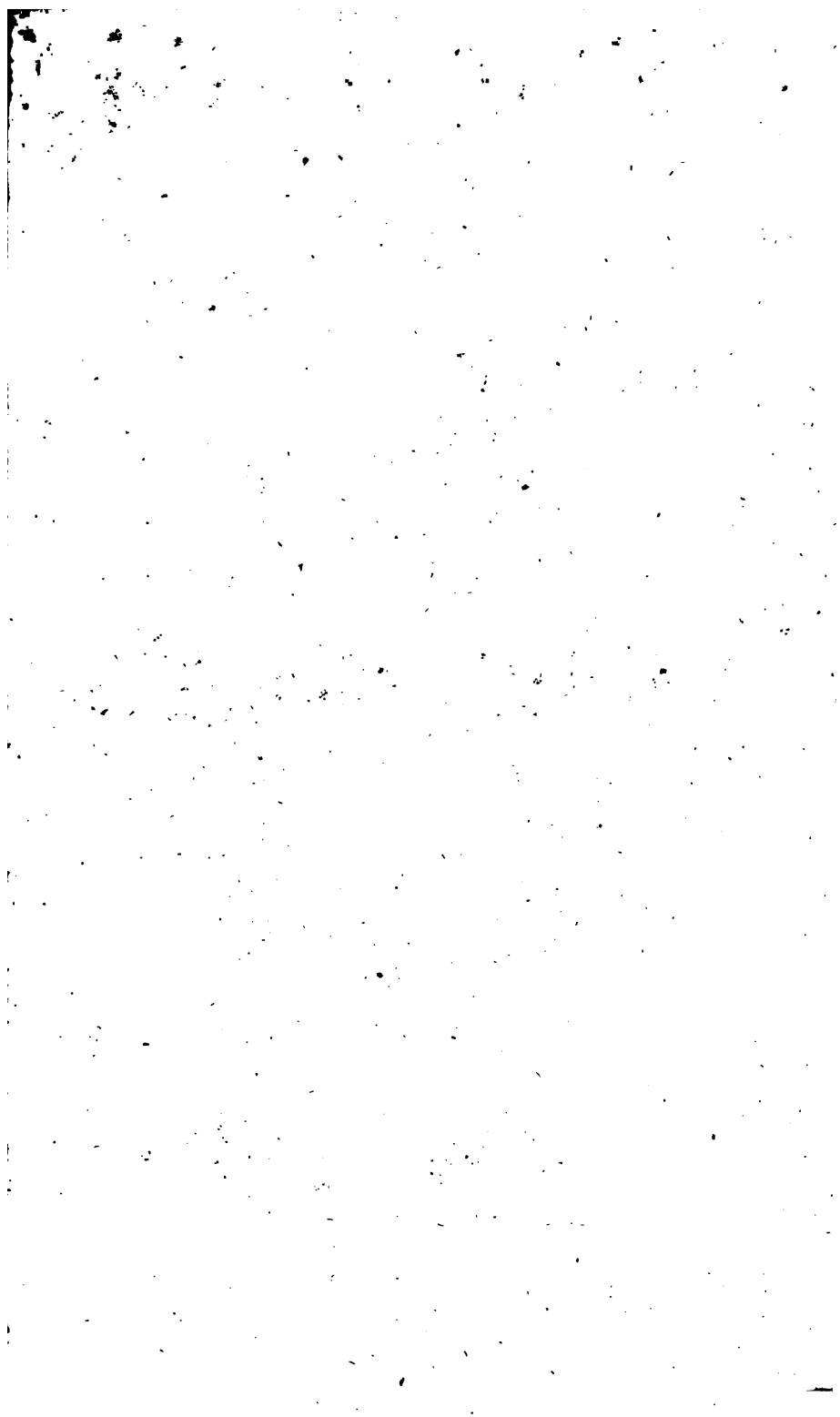
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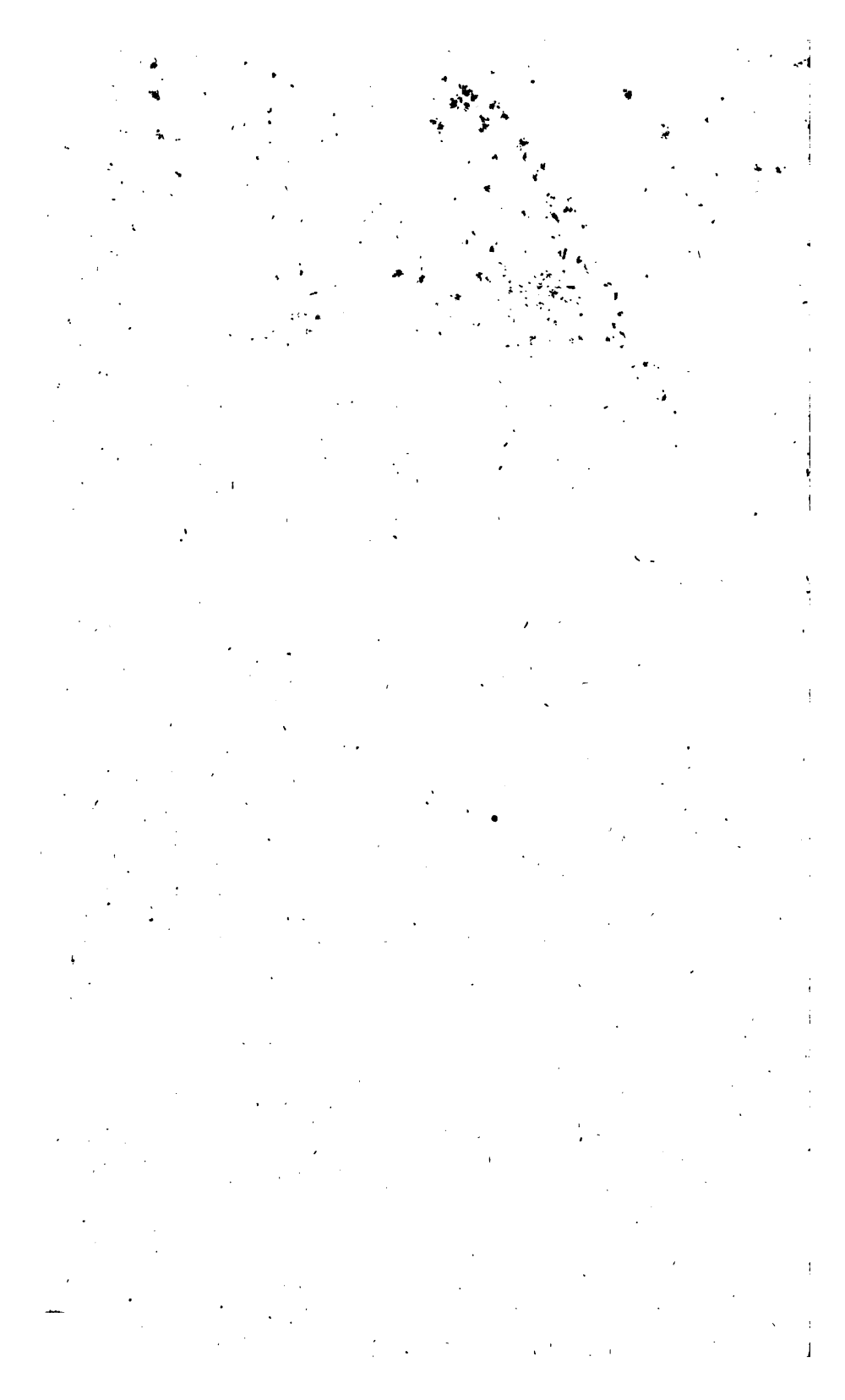
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UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

Illustrated with

CHARTS, MAPS, NOTES, &c.

AND

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

*Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξελθούσας μὴ καταλείβειν ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἱερήους ἀνάγκης
ἀπὸ ἱστορίων συνθεῖσθαι ἱστορίαν.* Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

V O L. XI.



L O N D O N,

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OF THE

ELEVENTH VOLUME.

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Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

C H A P. XLI.

*The History of Rome, from the Beginning to the
End of the second Carthaginian War.*

S E C T. II.

*From the Election of Q. Fabius (Son of Fabius Maximus)
and T. Sempronius Gracchus to the Consulate, to the
Conclusion of the second Carthaginian War.*

THE consulship of Fabius Maximus and Marcellus being expired, the senators, to keep them at the head of the armies without infringing the laws, continued Marcellus in Sicily, with the title of proconsul, and made him governor of all those territories which had belonged to king Hiero. As for Fabius, that he might still have the conduct of those forces which were to act against Hannibal, the centuries raised his son Q. Fabius to the consulate, knowing that the father, who offered to serve under him, would have the chief direction of the campaign. With young Fabius was joined Sempronius Gracchus, who, with an army of volones, had defeated Hanno near Beneventum. The other generals were continued in their respective commands; the two Scipios remained in Spain; Tarentius Varro in Picenum; Mucius Scævola in Sardinia; Otacilius commanded the fleet in Sicily,

*Q. Fabius
Maximus
consul
with T.
Sempronius
Gracchus.*

*Arpi taken
by the Ro-
mans,*

Sicily, and Valerius Lævinus a squadron at Brundisium, to watch the motions of the king of Macedon; the prætor Fulvius had the command of two legions near Sueffula, and Sempronius Tuditanus was sent with a body of troops into Cisalpine Gaul^a. Fabius, pursuant to his father's directions, opened the campaign with the siege of Arpi, in which was a garrison of five thousand Carthaginians. As the city was weak on one side, but deemed impregnable on the other, the troops in the town, believing it would be undoubtedly attacked on the weaker side, crowded thither, leaving the other parts undefended; a circumstance which gave the Fabii an opportunity of surprising the place in the night. After this achievement, the Fabii made it their whole business to follow Hannibal, who did not attempt any considerable enterprize during this campaign, but contented himself with standing on the defensive. The prætor Fulvius, near Sueffula, watched the motions of the Capuans, and was much surprised to see a hundred and twelve brave men of their nobility arrive at his camp, and, declaring an abhorrence of the revolt of their countrymen, demand to be received again into the friendship of the Romans. This change in the minds of the nobility plainly shewed how much Hannibal had lost his credit. The prætor Sempronius Tuditanus besieged and took by storm the city of Aternum, in the country of the Marrucini; and with the booty he found there, and the ransom of seven thousand prisoners, enriched the treasury of the republic. The consul Sempronius gained considerable advantages in Lucania, and obliged part of Brutium to return to its former masters. In Spain the two Scipios not only made great progress, but extended their views even to Africa, where they engaged Syphax king of Masæylia, the western part of Numidia, to take arms against Carthage. But, on the other hand, the Carthaginians, alarmed at the motions of Syphax, prevailed on Gala king of Maffylia, the eastern part of Numidia, to join them. Gala was no warrior, but had a son in the flower of his age, whose inclinations were wholly for war: the young prince's name was Masinissa; he was then only seventeen years old, but his genius and conduct were such as made the Maffylians conclude, that he would enrich and enlarge his father's dominions. Gala put him at the head of his troops; and the young warrior, joining the Carthaginians, fell so vigorously, and

*and Ater-
num.*

^a Liv. lib. xxiv. cap. 43.

so seasonably, on the Masæsylians, that they were entirely routed, and lost thirty thousand men in the action. The vanquished king retired into Mauritania, made new levies, and prepared to pass the streights, and join the Scipios in Spain: but the great Masinissa gave him a second overthrow, which prevented him from trying the fortune of arms again for a long time ^b.

Syphax defeated by Masinissa.

The time for the new elections drawing near, as both consuls were engaged abroad, Sempronius, the elder of them, nominated C. Claudius Centho dictator, to hold the comitia, in which Q. Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius Pulcher were chosen consuls for the new year. At the same time P. Cornelius Scipio, and his brother Lucius, the sons of the proconsul in Spain, were elected curule ædiles; though the elder was but twenty years of age, and the laws required, that every candidate for that office should be thirty, the merit of young Cornelius Scipio, and that of his father and uncle, made the people dispense with their old customs^c. While the new consuls were busy at Rome in raising two legions, and in prosecuting some publicans, guilty of notorious frauds, Hannibal, having made himself master of Tarentum by the treachery of the inhabitants, laid siege to the citadel, whither Livius, the commander of the Roman garrison in the city, had retired. In consequence of this misfortune, the consuls, leaving Rome, joined their forces; and, in order to divert the Carthaginian from pursuing the siege he had undertaken, entered Campania, laid waste the country round Capua, and threatened that city with a siege. The Capuans dispatched deputies to Hannibal, entreating him to hasten to their assistance; and acquainting him, that, by the devastation of their fields, they began already to feel the miseries of a siege. The Carthaginian, unwilling to raise the siege of the citadel, which wanted provisions, ordered Hanno, with an army from Brutium, to march to the relief of his favourite city. Hanno, pursuant to his orders, left Brutium; and, having collected an immense quantity of corn, pitched his camp near Beneventum, ordering the Capuans to send their waggons to fetch it from thence. In the mean time the consuls being informed of all that passed, Fulvius marched thither with all expedition; and, entering the town in the night unknown to Hanno, appeared next

Yr. of Fl.
2149.
Ante Chr.
199.
U. C. 549.

Tarentum betrayed to Hannibal.

Hanno surprised by Fulvius.

^b Liv lib. xxiv. cap. 43—49.
Polyb. lib. x. cap. 5.

^c Ibid. lib. xxv. cap. 2.

morning by break of day before the enemy's camp. Two thousand waggons had arrived from Capua; and the peasants, mixing with the soldiers, caused great confusion. However, as the camp was situated upon an ascent, and therefore very difficult to be taken by assault, the consul was for quitting the enterprize, or at least suspending it till the arrival of his colleague. But the legionaries signalized their bravery on this occasion beyond the expectation of their general: Vibius, a centurion of the Latin troops, and, after his example, Pedanius, a centurion of the third Roman legion, threw each a standard over the enemy's ramparts, crying out, "Let us be the curse of all men, if we do not recover these ensigns out of the enemy's hands!" Thus stimulated, the soldiers, encouraging each other, crossed the ditch, and climbing up the rampart, forced the Carthaginian camp, and made a dreadful slaughter of their troops. Above six thousand of them were killed, and about seven thousand made prisoners. The booty was exceeding great; corn, forage, waggons, horses, Hanno's baggage, the utensils of the Carthaginians, and whatever they had brought from the neighbouring countries, fell a prey to the Roman soldiers. Hanno made his escape, attended only by a small body of horse, and returned into Brutium^d.

*His camp
forced.*

The taking of the Carthaginian camp, and the absence of Hanno, threw the Capuans into the utmost consternation. Being more apprehensive of a siege than ever, they sent a new deputation to Hannibal, pressing him to come to their assistance. But he was so intent upon reducing the citadel of Tarentum, that he could not be prevailed upon to move from thence. Mean while, the consuls drew near to Capua, with a design to besiege it in form. As they did not doubt but Hannibal would hasten to the relief of the Capuans, they ordered Sempronius Gracchus to leave Lucania, and encamp with his army of volones in the neighbourhood of that city. Sempronius had already named his successor to command in that province, and was preparing for his march, when one Fulvius, a Lucanian, who had been very zealous for the interest of Rome, changed his inclination on a sudden, and, in order to recommend himself to the Carthaginians by some signal service, resolved to betray the proconsul to them. The traitor, abusing the confidence of Sempronius, told him, that, before he left Lucania, he would fain procure

*Sempronius
betrayed by
a Luca-
nian,*

^d Liv. lib. xxv. cap. 13, 14. Val. Max. lib. iii. cap. 2.

him

him the glory of uniting all the hearts of his countrymen in the interests of Rome; and pretended, that the heads of the Carthaginian faction desired a private conference. The brave Roman, not suspecting any deceit, went to the place appointed, attended only with his lictors, and a small body of horse: but he no sooner arrived, than he was surrounded by a great number of horse and foot, under the command of Mago, who had concealed himself behind a neighbouring hill. The proconsul, finding it impossible to make his escape, cried out to his small troop, "We are betrayed, and must die. Let us therefore signalize the last of our days by a behaviour worthy of Romans. Let us turn our arms chiefly against the traitor Fulvius, and send him to the infernal regions before us." Having spoken to this effect, he dismounted; and wrapping his left arm in the paludamentum, or military cloak, for want of a buckler, flew sword in hand to the place where he saw Fulvius, in hopes of killing the traitor before he fell himself; but he perished in the attempt; the Carthaginians being obliged, by the great slaughter he made in the midst of their battalions, to dispatch him, though they had been ordered by Mago to take him alive. Thus perished one of the best generals of the republic, at a time when she abounded with great men*. His body was carried to Hannibal's camp, who could not help shewing marks of esteem for so great a commander. He erected a funeral pile for him at the gate of his camp, and ordered his cavalry to make their evolutions round it, in honour of the deceased. Upon his death the volones, thinking themselves discharged from their military oath, disbanded; so that the consul's project of besieging Capua was disconcerted.

and killed.

To this misfortune was added another on the side of Spain, which threw the republic into the utmost consternation. News were brought to Rome, that both the Scipios were slain. The circumstances of their death are thus related: the Carthaginians had three armies in Spain, commanded by three officers of reputation; namely, Asdrubal, Hannibal's brother Mago, and another Asdrubal the son of Gisco. The two latter had united their forces; the former commanded an army apart, but without removing far from his colleagues. The two Roman generals likewise separated, and divided their troops. Publius, who was proconsul, and the eldest, took two-

State of affairs in Spain.

* Liv. lib. xxv. cap. 16.

*Cn. Scipio
abandoned
by the Cel-
tiberians.*

thirds of the Roman soldiers; and, leaving his brother the rest, with thirty thousand Celtiberian auxiliaries, marched towards the post which Mago and his colleague possessed, about five days journey from the Roman camp. During his absence, the Celtiberians, bribed by Asdrubal with large sums, deserted their general, and, marching away, left him in a melancholy situation. His brother Publius was already at a great distance, and he was not at all in a condition, either to keep thirty thousand Celtiberians in awe, or, without them, to defend his camp against the numerous forces of Asdrubal. His only refuge, therefore, was to retire, and keep at a distance from the enemy. This conduct he accordingly pursued, passing the Iberus, and keeping that river between him and Asdrubal's army.

*Mago and
Asdrubal
reinforced
by Mas-
nissa and
Indibilis.*

In the mean time Publius arriving, after five days march, at the post which Mago, and Asdrubal the son of Gisco, possessed, was informed that Masinissa, after having conquered Syphax in Africa, had passed the streights, and joined the Carthaginians with his victorious army. Notice was brought him, at the same time, that a Spanish prince, named Indibilis, was in full march from the country of the Lacetani, where he reigned, to join the Carthaginians with seven thousand five hundred men. Upon this intelligence, he decamped in the night, with a design to obstruct the march of Indibilis, and fight him before he reached the enemy's camp. Accordingly, next morning he met him, and had already surrounded him on all sides, when on a sudden Masinissa, who had narrowly watched his motions, appeared at the head of a numerous body of Numidian horse, and unexpectedly attacked the Roman army in flank. The fight was then renewed with great fury on both sides. Indibilis returned with his Lacetani to the charge; and at the same time Mago, and the son of Gisco, arriving, contrary to the proconsul's expectation, attacked his army in the rear. The brave Scipio, thus surrounded by three armies, flew from manipulus to manipulus, fighting as a common soldier in one place, and giving orders as a general in another. Thus, by his activity, and undaunted courage, he kept up the spirits of his legionaries, who withstood, with an unparalleled bravery, the numerous forces of the enemy, till their gallant commander was pierced with a lance, and left dead on the spot. The Numidian horse, who saw him fall, gave a great shout, crying out, "The Roman general is dead." The death of so brave a commander damped

*P. Scipio
attacked
by three
armies.*

*Surround-
ed and
killed.*

damped the courage of the Romans, who now thought of nothing but retiring in good order. They cut their way, sword in hand, through the enemy's infantry; but Masinissa put them in disorder, and made such a dreadful havock of them, that not one of the Romans would have escaped, had not night obliged the Numidian to give over the pursuit ^f.

In the mean time Cneius, knowing nothing either of the death of his brother, or the defeat of his legions, kept advancing on the banks of the Iberus, towards the provinces of Spain which were well affected to the Romans; when on a sudden he saw a very numerous army advancing towards him, and was soon after informed, that his brother was killed, his army entirely defeated, and his troops either dispersed, or cut in pieces. These tidings overwhelmed him with chagrin. Finding it impossible to make a safe retreat, he posted himself on an eminence, where the nature of the ground would not suffer him to make any fortifications but with the baggage of the army. In this post the small body he commanded was attacked by all the Carthaginian forces in Spain, under the conduct of the two Asdrubals, Mago, Masinissa, and their ally Indibilis, who, after the defeat of Publius, had united their forces, in order to fall upon Cneius, and put an end to the war in Spain at one blow. The Romans, though surrounded on all sides by numerous armies, forced their way through the enemy's battalions, without offering to surrender; and, gaining the neighbouring mountains, escaped to the camp of the deceased proconsul, which they found guarded by a small number of troops, under the command of T. Fonteius, one of Publius's lieutenants. The brave Cneius lost his life, with a considerable number of legionaries, in the action ^g. Some writers tell us, that he retired, with some brave men, to a neighbouring tower, in which, the enemy having set fire to it, he was either stifled with the smoke, or burnt. Thus all the hopes of the Romans in Spain seemed extinguished by the death of the two Scipios, who had been the chief support of the republic, and had done her greater services in those countries than Hannibal had done her hurt in Italy.

The senators now looked upon the affairs of Rome as quite ruined in Spain; but a young Roman knight, named C. Marcius, who had been brought up under

*Cn. Scipio.
attacked by
three vic-
torious
armies,*

and killed.

^f Liv. lib. xxv. cap. 32—34.

^g Idem, ibid. cap. 35, 36.

*C. Mar-
cius is cho-
sen general
by the
troops.*

*Gains a
signal vic-
tory over
the Cartha-
ginians.*

*Acquaints
the senate
with his
success.*

Cneius, and had a wonderful genius for war, soon repaired the misfortunes which had made the wisest men in the senate despond. Marcius, not discouraged by the loss of two battles, put himself in motion. Being unanimously chosen general by the troops, he gathered together the fugitives, and repulsed Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, who came to attack him in his camp. Encouraged by this success, he formed a design, which would have been deemed a rash attempt, had not his present circumstances authorised it. The next night he marched boldly to the enemy's camp; surprised it, and, having shut up all the passages, set fire to the tents, which were covered with thatch. In the general confusion which the flames, and the shouts of the Romans occasioned, some of the Carthaginians hastened to the gates of the camp, where they were cut in pieces by the legionaries who guarded them. Others leaped down from the top of the ramparts, but in endeavouring to make their escape, were intercepted by the squadrons which Marcius had placed in all the avenues leading to the camp. As they were unarmed, and most of them naked, the massacre was general. We are told that the number of the dead on the side of the Carthaginians, amounted to thirty-seven thousand, and that of the prisoners to eighteen hundred and thirty. Thus the mighty projects of the Carthaginian generals were entirely defeated, and Rome, notwithstanding the great losses she had sustained, maintained herself in possession of the provinces she had given up for lost ^h.

The first care of the gallant Marcius, after so signal a victory, was to dispatch couriers with letters to the senate, informing them of his success, and demanding succours and provisions, to enable him to maintain the war. In these letters he unluckily styled himself *proprætor*, a title which he had acquired only by a military election in the camp; and this slight offence against the authority of the haughty republic was referred to such a degree, that, notwithstanding his important services, the senate resolved to recall him, and send another general in his room; some were for treating him as a criminal, and citing him as such to appear forthwith before the tribes. The greater number chose to act a more moderate part; and, suppressing the title of *proprætor* in their answer, sent Marcius word, that they would take care to supply

^h Liv. lib. xxv. cap. 37, 38. Plin. lib. ii. cap. 107. Val. Max. cap. 6.

the Roman soldiers in Spain with cloaths and provisions. They esteemed it a dangerous precedent for the legions to assume the liberty of choosing their own commanders; and therefore thought it necessary to convene the tribes as soon as they conveniently could, in order to appoint another commander in the room of Marcius ¹.

The consular year being expired, Appius Claudius was recalled from Capua to preside in the comitia, when P. Sulpitius Galba and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus were raised to the consular dignity. Apulia was assigned to them for their province, while the late consuls were, in quality of proconsuls, directed to continue the siege of Capua, which they blocked up on all sides, proposing to reduce it rather by famine than by force. But, notwithstanding the vigilance of the two proconsuls, a Numidian horseman, having crossed the Roman camp in the night, without being discovered, carried the news to Hannibal of the extremity to which the city was reduced. This engaged him to leave the blockade of the citadel of Tarentum, and march to the relief of the distressed city with his horse, his light-armed infantry, and thirty-three elephants. He gave the besieged notice, when he intended to attack the Romans, ordering them to make a vigorous sally at the same time. The proconsuls, upon the first advice of the approach of the enemy, divided their troops, Appius taking upon him to make head against the garrison, and Fulvius to defend the intrenchments against Hannibal, who, at the time agreed on with the Capuans, began the attack with incredible fury, while the garrison, under the command of Hanno and Bostar, two Carthaginian generals, attacked the Romans at the same time. Appius found no difficulty in repulsing the garrison; and would have entered the city with them, had he not been wounded at the gate, and by his wound disabled from pursuing his design. Fulvius found it more difficult to withstand the troops of Hannibal, who exerted themselves with such courage, resolution, and intrepidity, as can hardly be expressed. A body of Spaniards and Numidians had even the boldness to pass the ditch, and, climbing the ramparts, penetrated into the Roman camp: but, as they were not seconded by the other troops, they were all to a man cut in pieces; a circumstance which so disheartened the Carthaginian general, especially after the garrison was repulsed, that he

*Capua shut
up by the
Romans.*

*Hannibal
attempts in
vain to
relieve it.*

¹ Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 2.

*Hannibal
marches to
Rome.*

founded a retreat, which was made in good order^k. Some writers tell us, that eight thousand of Hannibal's army, and three thousand of the Capuan garrison, were killed upon the spot; and that fifteen colours were taken from the former, and eighteen from the latter. It is certain, however, that Hannibal was perplexed what step to take next, it being impossible for him to subsist long in a country which was laid waste. At length he formed a design worthy of himself, and the fittest to support his glory and credit: he resolved to march directly to Rome, and surprise that capital, while the inhabitants expected nothing less than to see Hannibal at their gates. One advantage, at least, he concluded would attend this enterprize, which was, a diversion of the Roman forces before Capua; by which means provisions might be conveyed more easily into that city. That the Capuans might not be so disheartened by his absence, as hastily to surrender, he found means to acquaint them with his design. The news of Hannibal's approach caused great apprehensions at Rome: some of the senators were for calling all the armies in Italy into the neighbourhood of the capital. Fabius opposed this opinion, telling the conscript fathers, that Hannibal's design was not to take Rome, but to deliver Capua. A middle way was taken, and messengers were sent to the proconsuls, informing them of the state of affairs, and leaving it to their judgement, either to continue both before Capua, or let one of them, with such forces as could be spared, come to the relief of the capital. Upon this notice, it was agreed by the two colleagues, that Appius should continue before Capua; and that Fulvius, with fifteen thousand foot, and a thousand horse, should march to Rome^l.

His route.

He set out accordingly, but took a different route from Hannibal. The latter marched by the Latin Way, and the former by the Appian. The Roman troops were plentifully supplied with provisions on their march by the allies and subjects of Rome; so that they met with no obstruction, except in passing the Vulturinus, Hannibal having seized and burnt all the boats; a circumstance which obliged the proconsul to spend some time in cutting timber, and making rafts, to transport his troops. Hannibal took a great compass before he came in sight of Rome. From Capua he went to Cale, and from thence to Sidicinum; from Sidicinum he directed his march to

^k Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 5, 6.

^l Idem ibid. cap. 8.

Suessa, then to Alifæ; from this latter place he returned to the Latin Way, and passing through Caſinum, Aquinum, and Interamna, encamped in the plains of Fregellæ. The Fregellani, having first sent one of their citizens, with orders to travel night and day, in order to acquaint the senate with the approach of Hannibal, broke down their bridge on the Liris, which stopped the enemy's march for some time: however, after he had laid waste the lands of the Fregellani, and built a new bridge over the Liris, he arrived, by the Prænestine Way, within eight hundred paces of Rome. The alarm, which the approach of so formidable an enemy gave in all the quarters of the city, is not to be expressed. Fulvius was not yet arrived with his reinforcement: this circumstance occasioned great uneasiness, and doubled their fears; the more timorous, especially the women, whose shrieks were heard in all the streets, believing he had been cut off with his whole army by Hannibal.

Rome in great consternation.

While the city was in the utmost alarm, the proconsul appeared with his troops, and entered Rome by the gate Capena, having first received from the senate an authority equal to that of the consuls, for the better discharge of his employment. He marched through the city, and encamped with his army between the gates Esquilina and Collina. The ædiles were charged to supply the camp with provisions, and all sorts of ammunition: and the two consuls, who had not yet left Rome, with the senate, went thither to hold a council of war, in which proper measures were taken for the defence of the city. The situation of Fulvius's camp was approved, and posts assigned to all the officers: the ramparts were lined with soldiers; troops were stationed at proper distances within the walls; and the senate thought it necessary to keep their assembly continually sitting in the forum, to be ready against all emergencies. These dispositions so much intimidated Hannibal, that, despairing to compass his design of making himself master of Rome, he retired about three miles farther from it, and encamped beyond the Anio. Nevertheless, as he had the curiosity to satisfy himself of the condition of the enemy, he advanced at the head of two thousand horse towards the gate Collina, and appeared opposite to the temple of Hercules. The proconsul Flaminius, provoked at this insult, sent a detachment of cavalry to attack him; and at the same time ordered the twelve hundred Numidians, who had formerly deserted from Hannibal, to support the Roman cavalry.

A Roman army enters Rome.

Hannibal retires from Rome.

As

As they had been posted by Fulvius on Mount Aventine, they were obliged to march through the city; which they did in good order: but as the people did not know, that the proconsul had any Numidians in his army, they imagined the city surpris'd; and such was the fright and consternation produced by this false apprehension, that most of the inhabitants would have abandoned the city, had not Hannibal been at the gates. In this panic many of the citizens took arms, and, falling upon the Numidians, killed some of them before they were undeceived. At length the Numidians, with the utmost difficulty, made their way through the terrified crowds, joined the Roman squadrons, and with them obliged Hannibal to retire to his camp.

*Hannibal
offers the
Romans
battle.*

As the Carthaginian general was not dispos'd to give over the enterprize without being obliged to it by the loss of a battle, in which he entertained great hopes of succeeding, he repass'd the Anio, drew up his troops within reach of the enemy, and bid them defiance. Fulvius readily accepted the challenge, thinking he might venture a battle, almost without any danger, in sight, and at the foot, of the ramparts of the city. Never were combatants more nearly concerned in interest, than both parties now were, to exert all their courage and resolution. To take or preserve Rome was the great end which the two armies propos'd to gain by the victory. When all things were ready for the onset, a sudden and violent storm prevented the armies from engaging. Next day, the storm returned with such violence, that both Romans and Carthaginians were obliged to retire to their tents^m. As Rome was no longer alarmed, the senate provided for all affairs with as much tranquility as if the enemy had been at a great distance.

*Hannibal
retires
from before
Rome.*

A great body of troops were sent to reinforce the army in Spain; and this measure Hannibal look'd upon as an insult; but he was more concerned, when he was told by a deserter, that a piece of land in the place where he was encamped had been sold at Rome as dear as if he had not been master of it. In order to retort this insult, he put to sale the bankers shops round the forum: after this bravado, he drew nearer to the city, and encamped at a small distance from the gate Capena. He soon retired again, and, encamping on the banks of the Turia, about six miles from

^m Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 10—13.

Rome, ravaged the neighbouring country, and then marched into the territory of Capena; where he rifled a temple consecrated to the goddess Feronia. He then pursued his march, passed the Liris, and, drawing near Capua, fell unexpectedly on Appius's camp in the night. A great number of Romans were killed on the spot, and Appius forced to leave his camp, and fly to some eminences, where he entrenched himself, expecting every moment to be joined by Fulvius, who, he apprehended, could not be far distant; while Hannibal, expecting to have all the Roman forces immediately upon him, abandoned all thoughts of relieving Capua, marched through Lucania and Brutium, and then entered the territory of Rhegium with such expedition, that the city was in danger of being surpris'd^a. In the mean time, Fulvius having rejoined his colleague before Capua, that city was soon reduced to the utmost extremity. The proconsuls offered to spare the lives of all those who should repair to the Roman camp; but not one Capuan accepted the offer. The commanders of the Carthaginian garrison wrote letters to Hannibal, full of reproaches, pressing him not to desert them in so shameful a manner; but one of the Numidians, to whose care these letters were committed, being betrayed by his mistress, who had followed him into the Roman camp, both he and his companions were seized, and driven back into the city, after having been whipped, and deprived of their thumbs. At sight of the maimed Numidians, the people in the utmost consternation obliged the senate to assemble, in order to deliberate on the proper means of delivering them from the calamities which threatened them. Fear brought the senators together; and the majority were for surrendering upon the best terms they could obtain. Vibius Virius, the chief author of the revolt, opposed this motion, and in a long speech shewed them, that there was no room to hope for any favour from the Romans after so great provocations. He concluded his harangue with these words; "Death is our only remedy. I have prepared a great entertainment at my house; where, after we have eat and drank plentifully, a cup of poison will end our days and misfortunes together. Let those who despise life, follow me: a glorious death will procure us respect from the enemy, and the perfidious Hannibal will lament the loss of allies, who did not deserve to be thus deserted

*Surprises
Appius in
his camp.*

*Capua re-
duced to
great
straits.*

^a Liv. lib. xxvj. cap. 12.

and betrayed." Twenty-seven of the assembly followed Virius, and closed the entertainment, to which they were invited, with a cup of poison °.

Capua submits to the Romans.

The rest of the Capuans submitted to the Romans, who were no sooner in possession of the city, than they seized the Carthaginian garrison, and all the Capuan senators. The Carthaginians were made prisoners of war; but the senators were tried by the proconsuls, and fifty-three of them, who had been the most active against Rome, were sent to two neighbouring cities, twenty-five to Cale, and twenty-eight to Teanum, to be kept there under close confinement, till their fate should be determined; for Appius being inclined to clemency, and Fulvius to severity, the dispute grew warm between them. Appius, to put an end to it, referred the matter to the senate, and in the mean time sent the prisoners to the above mentioned cities. But his colleague, without waiting for the decree of the senate, marched out of the camp at midnight; and hastening with two thousand horse first to Cale, and then to Teanum, caused the fifty-three senators to be first scourged, and then beheaded. He received, just before the execution of those at Teanum, letters from Rome, with orders to suspend it; but he put the packet into his bosom, and did not open the letters till all was over. The republic never blamed him for this instance of severity; being pleased to see herself revenged, without incurring the odious charge of inhumanity among her allies^p. As to the city of Capua, the republic reserved the property of those fruitful plains, and of the houses in the city; and transplanted thither freedmen to cultivate the lands. These were governed by a prefect, sent thither annually to preserve order in the place, and to hear causes. The ancient inhabitants were deprived of their estates and effects, and dispersed without hopes of ever returning to their native city, some of them being sold for slaves, and others confined in several prisons, where they perished with hunger.

Asdrubal deludes the Roman commander in Spain.

In Spain, Claudius Nero, who had been sent to succeed the Scipios, suffered himself to be duped by Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal. He had shut up the Carthaginian on a neck of land, where they were reduced to such a situation, that Asdrubal promised to leave Spain with all his troops, provided the Romans would only grant them their lives. Claudius accepted the proposal; but the art-

° Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 12—14.

^p Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 15—18.

ful Carthaginian, starting new difficulties about evacuating the cities he possessed, found means to convey most part of his troops over the mountains without the knowledge of the enemy, who, after the signing of the treaty, did not keep so watchful an eye over them. At length all the infantry reached the plains, Asdrubal being left in the camp with the cavalry only, and the elephants; and even these he found means to save by the help of a thick fog, which covered both armies. When the weather cleared up, Claudius found the Carthaginian camp deserted, and himself egregiously deluded. He pursued the enemy, but to no purpose; for Asdrubal, having joined his infantry, retired in good order, and escaped with the loss of a small number of his men, who were killed in some skirmishes between his rear-guard and the van-guard of the Romans.

The senate and people of Rome were much mortified, when they received these news; the centuries were immediately assembled to choose a proconsul, capable of retrieving the glory of the Roman name in Spain. No candidates appearing, because that employment was generally disliked, young Scipio, the son of the deceased proconsul, courageously offered himself for that hazardous enterprize. He was then but twenty-four years of age: nevertheless not only all the centuries, but every voter in each century, declared him proconsul of Spain. He embarked soon after at Ostia with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, on board a fleet of thirty quinqueremes; and proceeded for his province.

Young Scipio chosen proconsul of Spain.

And now the time for electing new magistrates drawing near, Fulvius Centumalus was recalled from Campania to preside in the comitia. The persons raised to the consular dignity were Marcellus the fourth time, who had lately taken the city of Syracuse, and Lævinus the second time, who lay sick at Anticyra in Greece, after having signalized himself against Philip of Macedon, as we have related in the reign of that prince. When Lævinus arrived, both consuls applied themselves to the preparations for the approaching campaign. Sicily fell to Lævinus, and Marcellus was ordered to march against Hannibal, who, since the reduction of Capua, had retreated into Brutium. Marcellus began the campaign with the siege of Salapia, in Apulia, which was betrayed to him by two leading men in the place. The Carthaginian garrison, which consisted of five hundred brave Numidian horse, seeing themselves betrayed, resolved to sell their

Salapis taken by Marcellus.

*A Roman
squadron
defeated by
the Taren-
tine fleet.
Fulvius de-
feated and
killed by
Hannibal;*

their lives dear; and accordingly, quitting their horses, fought on foot, and made a great slaughter of the enemy, till they were all cut in pieces, except fifty, who surrendered themselves prisoners¹. From Apulia Marcellus marched into Samnium, where he recovered many cities, and took above three thousand Carthaginian prisoners. But in the mean time the Romans received two very considerable checks; the one at Tarentum, where a squadron of ships, which they had sent to supply the citadel with provisions, was entirely defeated by the Tarentine fleet; the other in Apulia, where the proconsul, Fulvius Centumalus, was surpris'd by Hannibal, and cut off with eleven gionary tribunes, and a great number of private men, some say thirteen thousand².

*who is
obliged to
retire.*

This victory retrieved the affairs and credit of Hannibal, and greatly discouraged the Roman senate and people, whose only hopes now centered in Marcellus. This brave consul was no sooner informed of the defeat and death of Fulvius, than he marched in quest of Hannibal, not doubting, as he wrote to the senate, that he should soon damp the joy which swelled the mind of the proud conqueror. He came up with him near Numistro in Brutium, and offered him battle. The Carthaginian accepted the challenge, and a bloody engagement ensued, which lasted the whole day, without any considerable advantage on either side. Next morning Marcellus marched out his army at sun-rising, and drew it up in the same place where the battle had been fought the day before. Hannibal, not caring to hazard a second engagement, kept his troops close in their entrenchments, and decamped the night following. Marcellus pursued him from place to place; so that these two great generals spent the rest of the campaign, the one watching for an opportunity to come to a general action, the other endeavouring to avoid it³.

*The pro-
gress of
Scipio in
Spain.*

While the Carthaginians were thus kept in awe by Marcellus in Italy, the arms of the republic in Spain prospered beyond expectation, under the conduct of young Scipio, who, by the gracefulness of his person, and his wonderful complaisance, gained, on his first arrival, the hearts both of the Spaniards and Romans. The first time he reviewed his troops he asked for the brave Marcius, embraced him at the head of the army, heaped marks of

¹ Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 37.
² Idem ibid. cap. 2. Plut in Marcell.

³ Idem, lib. xxvii. cap. 1.

distinction upon him, took him near his person, and was not ashamed even to consult him, and on several occasions follow his advice. When the season allowed him to take the field, he bent all his thoughts on the execution of a design which he had formed before he left Rome. This design he now communicated to C. Lælius, the commander of his fleet, and his intimate and inseparable friend; but carefully concealed it from all others. His scheme was to surprise New Carthage, the capital of the Carthaginian empire in Spain, where all the enemy's treasures, machines of war, and naval stores were lodged. It was agreed, that Lælius should shut up the port with his fleet, while Scipio invested the city by land. With this view the whole army passed the Iberus, and, marching always in the night, arrived the seventh day, early in the morning, before New Carthage. Then he imparted his design to the officers and soldiers; represented to them of what importance the reduction of that city would be with regard to the entire conquest of Spain; and told them, that Neptune had appeared to him, advised him to that enterprize, and promised him success. He added, that they would soon see a miracle wrought by the god in their favour. He knew the hour when the tide would ebb, and leave the city accessible to his land-forces on the side of the port; and he made use of this natural event, which was a mystery to the soldiers, to persuade them, that he was endowed with supernatural knowledge.

*Forms a
scheme to
surprise
New Car-
thage,*

Having encouraged his troops, as soon as the tide ebbed, Scipio, at the head of five hundred resolute men, entered the basin, having learnt from some fishermen, that it was fordable at low water; and, marching up to the waist through the water, scaled the walls, which on that side were very low, while the Carthaginians were wholly intent on opposing the Romans who attacked the city on the land-side. The confusion of the besieged was so great, when they saw the Romans within the walls, that they abandoned the ramparts, and gave the rest of the army an opportunity of breaking down one of the gates, and entering the city. Mago, who commanded in the town, retired with his garrison, consisting of a thousand regular troops, and two thousand of the inhabitants, to the citadel; but was soon obliged to surrender at discretion. The prisoners amounted to six thousand men, besides women, children, and slaves. The Africans were reduced to slavery, the Spaniards suffered to enjoy their estates, and live according to their own laws, only in subjection to

*which he
happily
puts in ex-
ecution.*

*Immense
wealth
found in
the place.*

Rome. Eighteen galleys belonging to the enemy were taken in the port, and a hundred and thirteen merchant ships loaded with naval stores. In the granaries were found forty thousand bushels of wheat, and two hundred and sixty thousand bushels of barley; and, in the armouries, an immense quantity of warlike machines of all sorts, with seventy-four standards. The city being taken by assault, Scipio gave it to be plundered by his soldiers, ordering them to bring all the booty into the market-place; where he found, among other valuable effects, two hundred and sixty cups of gold, most of them weighing a pound, eighteen thousand three hundred pounds weight of silver money, and a prodigious quantity of plate. The brass money was distributed among the soldiers, and the rich spoils put into the hands of Caius Flaminius, the quaestor. The hostages, likewise, whom the Carthaginians had demanded of the cities and provinces of Spain, were all found in the city, and sent home by Scipio loaded with presents. Mago, and the other Carthaginian officers, were put into the hands of Lælius, who treated them with great humanity^t.

*A remarkable
instance of
Scipio's
continence.*

The proconsul leaving Lælius to command in the city, returned with his army to the camp. Next morning his officers brought to him a young virgin of extraordinary beauty. Wherever she appeared she charmed the eyes of all, and Scipio was struck at the first sight of her: but though he was in the prime of his age, unmarried, and under no restraint, he did not suffer himself to be blinded by his rising passion. He examined the beautiful captive concerning her country, birth, and engagements; and finding that she was betrothed to a Celtiberian prince, named Allucius, he ordered both him and the captive's parents to be sent for, and put her untouched into their hands, telling them, that the only return he expected from them was their friendship to his republic. The young Spaniard was so transported with joy, that he could not return Scipio thanks. The parents of the captive had brought a considerable sum for the ransom of their daughter, which they offered to the generous proconsul as a present, since he had freely given her to her lover without ransom: they pressed and intreated him to accept of it, and, at length, throwing the money at his feet, retired. Scipio immediately bestowed it on Allucius, as an addition to his wife's fortune. This behaviour, truly he-

^t Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 41—47. Polyb. lib. x. cap. 11. Appian. in Ibericis.

reſic, did the Roman republic more ſervice than even the reduction of New Carthage. Allucius declared in Celtiberia, that the gods had ſent into Spain a young conqueror almoſt equal to themſelves. Upon his report Celtiberia came over to the Roman party; Allucius joined the Roman troops at the head of fourteen hundred choſen horſe; and all Spain began to revolt from the Carthaginians*. Scipio diſpatched Lælius, with Mago and the ſenators of New Carthage, in a quinqueremis, to Rome, to give the ſenate an account of his ſucceſs. Never were news received with more joy. The republic did not expect to recover her affairs in Spain, and feared ſhe had hazarded too much in the hands of a young general. The ſenate, therefore, was overjoyed to find, that the firſt enterprize of their young commander had eclipsed the glory of his father and uncle. At the ſame time the republic received from Sicily the agreeable news of the total reduction of that iſland by the conſul Lævinus.

*Gains the
affections
of the Spaniards.*

Lævinus, having ſettled affairs in Sicily, was recalled by the ſenate to hold the comitia. He was ſcarce arrived, when he was ordered to return to his province, upon certain intelligence, that the Carthaginians were fitting out a new fleet with a deſign to attempt the recovery of Sicily; and commanded by the ſenate to name a dictator, before he left Rome, to preſide in the comitia for the new elections. But as he inſiſted upon deferring the nomination till he was in Sicily, and it was not thought proper to interrupt Marcellus in his purſuit of Hannibal, the tribunes of the people took upon them to appoint a dictator in their aſſembly, namely, Fulvius Flaccus, the proconſul of Campania. Thus the conſuls loſt the prerogative, which they had long enjoyed, of appointing dictators. Fulvius having aſſembled the tribes, was himſelf named conſul with Fabius Maximus. Two of the tribunes oppoſed the election of Fulvius, as contrary to law; but the ſenate, well pleaſed with the choice that had been made of ſuch able commanders, declared, that the dictatorship did not diſqualify Fulvius from being choſen conſul. Scipio was continued in his commiſſion of proconſul of Spain, not for one year only, but till an order ſhould be made for recalling him*.

The ſeaſon of the year being now fit for action, the conſuls left Rome. Fabius undertook the ſiege of Tarentum, while Fulvius on one ſide, and Marcellus on the

*Tarentum
beſieged by
the Romans.*

* Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 50.

* Idem, lib. xxvii. cap. 7.

other, watched the motions of Hannibal, intercepted his convoys, and prevented his soldiers from going in parties to plunder at any distance from their camp. The Carthaginian being thus harassed, and wanting provisions, resolved at length to engage Marcellus, while the consul Fulvius was at a great distance. Having drawn up his troops, and exhorted them to complete the work of Cannæ, he attacked the Romans with incredible fury. After the engagement had lasted two hours with equal success, the right wing of the Romans began to give way. In this emergency Marcellus ordered the eighteenth legion, which was posted in the second line, to advance into the first, and take the place of the body that began to retire; but as the legion advanced too slowly, and the troops, which they were to succeed, retreated with too much precipitation, the enemy seized this opportunity to penetrate into the Roman manipuli, and put the whole right wing into disorder. Marcellus strove in vain to make them keep their ranks, and lead them back to the charge: they fled in the utmost confusion, and their example was followed by the rest of the army; so that Marcellus was obliged to return to his camp, leaving two thousand seven hundred auxiliaries and Romans dead on the field of battle. Among these were two of his lieutenants, four centurions, and many persons of distinction*. Marcellus that same night assembled his troops, and reproached them with their cowardice. The soldiers readily owned their fault, and, asking pardon for their sudden flight, protested, that they were now ready to expose themselves to any danger, with a firm resolution either to die or conquer. "Make ready then (replied the proconsul), to perform your promises to-morrow, and to deserve the forgiveness you desire." Next morning the legionaries were under arms, and ready to march by break of day. The manipuli, which had behaved so shamefully the day before, were placed, at their own request, in the first line, that they might have an opportunity of wiping off the shame of the preceding day. Marcellus, without letting their ardour cool, marched out of his camp, and drew up his army as usual. Hannibal, surprised at this unexpected step of the Roman general, cried out, "What a strange man is this Marcellus! whether conqueror or conquered, he is always ready to fight. Let us teach him not to insult, but to fear and respect his conquerors." Having thus spoken, he gave

Yr. of Fl.
2152.
Ante Chr.
196.
U. C. 552.

*Marcellus
routed by
Hannibal;*

* Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 12.

† Idem, ibid. cap. 13, 14.

orders for the battle, the trumpets sounded, and the attack began. The victory was, for some hours, disputed with equal success; but at length the Romans prevailed, and obliged the enemy to shelter themselves in their camp. In this action Hannibal lost eight thousand of his best troops. However, Marcellus bought his victory dear; for three thousand of his legionaries were killed, and almost all the rest wounded; so that he could not pursue Hannibal, who decamped the night after his defeat, retired into Brutium, and there entrenched himself, while Marcellus led his troops to Venusia, to give them some respite, and time to be cured^a.

but the next day gains a victory over them.

In the mean time the consul Fulvius recovered, without bloodshed, the provinces of Lucania and Hirpinia, and great part of Brutium. Fabius, who had undertaken the reduction of Tarentum, was put in possession of that wealthy and important city by the commander of the Brutian troops in garrison there, who let the Romans into the place in the night-time. On this occasion they spared neither Carthaginians, Tarentines, nor Brutians; nay, some writers tell us, that those among the latter who had been privy to the treachery of their leader, were, by Fabius's orders, massacred the first, lest, if he spared them, this conquest should be imputed more to treachery than to his prudence and bravery. But this conduct is no way suitable to the character of this great man^a. The riches found in this maritime city were immense: the quæstors are said to have received, for the public treasury, eighty-seven thousand pounds weight of gold, and three thousand talents of silver. As to the pictures and statues, Fabius, who had no taste for arts, and therefore neglected them, being asked by the quæstors what he would have done with those master-pieces of painting and sculpture, replied, "Let us leave to the Tarentines their angry gods^b." He alluded to the attitudes in which the gods of Tarentum were represented; for, after the Lacedæmonian manner, they were armed with swords, and in fighting postures.

Tarentum betrayed to Fabius.

Immense booty found in the place.

Thirty thousand citizens, who escaped the general massacre, were reduced to slavery, and sold to the best bidder. The Tarentines were reduced so low, that they became a reproach among their neighbours, and were employed by the Roman magistrates in the provinces only as licitors and executioners^c. Hannibal, upon the first news of the

^a Appian. in Hannibal. Plut. in Marcell.

^a Plut. in Fab.

^b Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 16.

^c Plut. in Fab. Aul. Gell. lib. x.

cap. 3.

*Hannibal's
stratagem
to surprise
Fabius.*

siege of Tarentum, had left Brutium and hastened to its relief; but when he was within five miles of the city, an account was brought him, that the Roman consul had taken it by artifice. Upon which he cried out in great surprise; "What! have the Romans then their Hannibal too?" However, to save his honour, he did not immediately retire, but encamped on the place where he heard the news, and continued there some days. As Fabius did not offer to attack him, he marched to Metapontus, a city in his interest, and there contrived a stratagem, which had like to have proved fatal to Fabius. He sent two of the inhabitants to the consul with letters from the chief men of the city, offering to deliver up the place, and the Carthaginian garrison, into their hands. Fabius, not suspecting the cheat, fixed the day for his march, and would have fallen into an ambush prepared for him, had not the augurs and aruspices, who doubtless were more suspicious than the general, detained him in the camp, by declaring that the presages were all unfortunate. Hannibal, impatient of Fabius's delays, sent new emissaries; but these being arrested, and threatened with severe punishments, confessed the secret^d.

*Farther
progress of
Scipio in
Spain.*

In Spain, Scipio, having fortified New Carthage, and left a strong garrison in it, marched to Tarracon, where he spent the winter in exercising his troops, and establishing the exactest discipline. Early in the spring he took the field, and as the Carthaginian forces were still divided into three bodies, under three generals, he marched to attack Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, the nearest to him, and whose army consisted almost wholly of Spaniards, except the Numidians Masinissa had brought with him from Africa. The Carthaginian, at his approach, was much perplexed, not knowing what course to take. At length he resolved to hazard a battle, intending, if it proved unsuccessful, to make the best of his way to the Pyrenees, and, crossing Gaul, enter Italy. He posted himself on an eminence, in the midst of a plain watered by a river, which, winding round the eminence, made it a peninsula. This was a very advantageous post; but Scipio resolved to attack him before he was joined by the other Asdrubal and Mago. He succeeded in the attempt; the enemy was entirely routed, and Asdrubal, accompanied by Masinissa, fled towards the Pyrenees, with as many troops and elephants as he could get to-

*Asdrubal
entirely
routed.*

^d Cic. de Senec.

gether. The fame of this memorable action brought many of the petty princes of Spain to the Roman camp, and induced all the nations beyond the Iberus to renounce the Carthaginian party with great sincerity. While Scipio continued in the camp of Asdrubal, the quæstor brought to him a youth, named Maffiva, who had been found among the captives, and by his comeliness, and an air of grandeur in his deportment, seemed to be of noble extraction. The præconful finding, upon examining him, that he was a nephew of Masiniffa, asked him whether he desired to return to his uncle. Maffiva answered, with tears in his eyes, that this was the utmost of his wishes. Upon this declaration the præconful having ordered him to be richly dressed, presented him with a horse finely accoutred, and in this manner sent him back under a guard. These were the methods by which Scipio gained the affections even of his enemies. The flight of Asdrubal towards the Pyrenees gave the præconful no small uneasiness; however, he would not pursue him, but chose rather to lead his victorious army into the heart of the country, and fix the several nations in an alliance with his republic. The Carthaginian generals joined their armies: after having consulted about the best measures to be taken, it was resolved, that the son of Gisco should resign his troops to Mago, and repair to the Balearic islands to make new levies; that Mago should post himself in Lusitania; and that Asdrubal should march for Italy, and there join his brother with as many Spanish troops as he could assemble*.

In Italy the time for the new election drawing near, Fulvius was recalled to preside in the comitia, when Marcellus was chosen the fifth time, and with him T. Quinctius Crispinus the second time. The new consuls no sooner entered upon their office, than they took the field, and, uniting their forces, formed a design of making themselves masters of Locri, a strong city in the interest of Hannibal. With this view they sent orders to a body of troops encamped before Tarentum, to march thither. But Hannibal, being informed by the Thurians of the march of this detachment, surprised them near the river Liris, killed two thousand of them, and took twelve hundred prisoners. The two consuls advanced against Hannibal, and, drawing up their forces, offered him battle, which he declined, waiting for an opportunity to

*Hannibal
gains an
advantage
over the
Romans.*

* Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 18, 19. Polyb. lib. x. cap. 37.

*The Roman
consuls fall
into an
ambuscade.*

*Marcellus
slain, and
the other
consul
wounded.*

deceive the enemy by some stratagem; wherein he succeeded beyond his expectation. Between his camp and that of the Romans was a little hill very convenient for encampments, being well supplied with water; as it was nearest to Hannibal, the Romans were surprised that he had not taken possession of it at first; and murmured against their generals for not seizing such an advantageous post. At length Marcellus, to comply with their importunity, proposed to his colleague to advance with a guard of two hundred and twenty horse, and take a view of the eminence which seemed so inviting to the soldiery. Quinctius approving of the motion, the consuls set out on an expedition, which would have better become a private centinel, or an inferior officer, than the heads of the republic. Marcellus was so little apprehensive of danger, that he left orders with his army to decamp on the first signal, and advance to take possession of this new post. Hannibal had concealed a detachment of Numidians in the cavities of the hill, and under the bushes which covered it: these, coming out of their ambush, surprised and surrounded the two consuls and their guards; so that they could neither retreat, nor reach the top of the eminence. Being overwhelmed with showers of darts, they fell with fury on those who cut off their retreat; and perhaps the two consuls would have made their way through the enemy, had they not been deserted by the cowardly Hetrurians, of whom their guard chiefly consisted. The Hetrurians having fled, or laid down their arms, at the first appearance of danger, the consuls were left with only five or six Roman officers, and about forty soldiers, who fought with great courage and resolution, and had already opened a passage, when Marcellus, being mortally wounded by a dart, fell from his horse, and died. His colleague, though dangerously wounded in two places, and Marcellus, the son of the deceased consul, then a legionary tribune, behaved so valiantly, that, with the assistance of their slender guard, they returned to the camp^f.

Thus died the renowned Marcellus, surnamed the sword of the republic; the terror of Hannibal, and the conqueror of Syracuse. Though antiquity has questioned his prudence as a general, on account of his last rash attempt; yet it is certain, that on all other occasions he displayed the accomplished hero. Hannibal, upon the

^f Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 26. Plut. in Marcell.

news of his death, flew to the place where the body of his rival lay, and at the sight of it shewed no marks of joy, but seemed rather to pity the misfortune of so great a man in losing his life in a skirmish. His first care was to take off the ring which the consul had on his finger, and with which he sealed his dispatches, not doubting, but he should have some opportunity of making use of it to his advantage. Then, having for some time admired the stature and noble mien of the deceased, he ordered the body to be wrapt up in a rich stuff, laid on a funeral pile, and burnt. He gathered up the ashes, enclosed them in a silver urn, on which he placed a crown of gold, and another of laurel, sending in this pompous manner the remains of the father to the son, who shewed them all those marks of distinction which the illustrious consul deserved^s. Livy, without mentioning any of these circumstances, only tells us, that the body of the deceased Marcellus was buried by the Carthaginian general^a. The surviving consul, being dangerously wounded, decamped the following night, and posted himself among inaccessible mountains; and from his asylum dispatched messengers to all the neighbouring cities in the interest of Rome, acquainting them, that Marcellus was killed, lest Hannibal, who was master of his ring, should attempt to deceive them, by letters sent to them in his name. This precaution preserved Salapia in Apulia.

*Honours
paid to his
body by
Hannibal.*

The inhabitants turned the artifice of the Carthaginian upon himself; for a Roman deserter having brought them a letter as from the deceased consul, acquainting them, that he would be there the next day, and ordering them to make the necessary preparations for his reception, the Salapians admitted six hundred of Hannibal's men, most of them Roman deserters, into the town; and then all on a sudden pulling up the draw-bridges, cut in pieces those who had entered, and, with a shower of darts from the ramparts, repulsed the restⁱ. Hannibal, being thus disappointed in his attempt upon Salapia, marched with all his forces to the relief of Locri, which the Romans had close invested by sea and land. Upon his approach the Romans were so terrified, that Cincius, the admiral of the fleet, immediately founded a retreat; and, having embarked all the land-forces on board his galleys, returned to Rome. The consul Quinctius, having left his post

*Hannibal
deceived
by an arti-
fice of his
own.*

*The Ro-
mans raise
the siege
of Locri.*

^s Plut. in Marcell.
cap. 28. Appian. p. 343.

^a Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 16.

ⁱ Ibid.

*T. Manlius
Torquatus
dictator.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2154.
Ante Chr.
194.
U. C. 554.*

*Claudius
Nero and
M. Livius
Salinator
consuls.*

*Livius's
character.*

among the mountains, encamped near Capua, whence he sent letters to the senate, acquainting them with the death of his colleague, and desiring them to name three men of prudence and integrity, with whom he might confer on the proper measures to be taken by the republic, since, his wounds proving mortal, he was drawing near his end. Accordingly, three senators were commissioned to receive his last advice; and, at their request, he appointed a dictator to hold the comitia for the next elections. The person he chose was T. Manlius Torquatus, who named C. Servilius for general of the horse. Soon after this disposition, the consul died^k. However, the Romans were a little comforted for the loss of both their consuls with news from Sicily, that Lævinus, who commanded a fleet of a hundred sail, had made a descent on Africa, brought from thence an immense booty, and afterwards defeated a Carthaginian fleet off Clypea^l.

In order to retrieve the affairs of the republic, it was necessary that two men of prudence and bravery should be raised to the consulate. The senate, therefore, named Claudius Nero, and M. Livius Salinator. The former was a man of uncommon bravery, but bold and enterprising; the latter, more sedate and calm, and therefore fit to temper the vivacity of his colleague. Livius had discharged the office of consul twelve years before, with great prudence; but, being unjustly censured by the people for a pretended unequal division of the spoils of Illyricum, he had retired to a country-house, and there lived like a man in disgrace, till the censors obliged him to take his place in the senate. As he was a man of unquestionable abilities, both the senate and dictator thought him a proper person to be joined with Nero: but it was with the utmost difficulty, that they prevailed upon him to accept the dignity.

It fell to his lot to march against Asdrubal, who was making his way over the Alps into Italy, to join his brother, while Nero's province was to act against Hannibal in Brutium. Levies were raised with great rigour, and the volones, formerly disciplined by Sempronius, were obliged to serve again. Besides the forces raised in Italy, Scipio sent from Spain to Livius two thousand legionaries, eight thousand Spaniards and Gauls, and about two thousand horse, partly Numidians, and partly Spaniards.

^k Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 33.
Hannib. Plut. in Marcel.

^l Ibid. cap. 28. Appian. in

Early in the spring the two consuls took the field. Nero, at the head of forty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, encamped within five hundred paces of Hannibal's army. Having privately sent a considerable detachment to fall upon the enemy in the rear from the eminences behind them, he gained, by this stratagem, a victory, killed eight thousand of the enemy, and took seven thousand prisoners, with the loss only of five hundred men. After this defeat, Hannibal decamped in the night from the neighbourhood of Grumentum in Lucania, where the battle was fought; but the Romans pursued him with so much expedition, that they came up with him near Venusia, and in another battle killed two thousand of his men; a loss which obliged him to retire to Metapontus, in order to join Hanno, whom he had sent to make new levies in Brutium^m.

Hannibal defeated in two engagements.

While the consul was thus employed in pursuing and harassing Hannibal, a courier fell into the hands of the Romans, with letters from Asdrubal to his brother, importing, that he had passed the Alps, and was on his march to Umbria, in hopes that Hannibal would join him there. Upon this intelligence, the consul Nero, having appointed one of his lieutenants to command the army, set out in the night with six thousand of his best troops, causing a report to be spread, that he was going to attack a Carthaginian garrison in a neighbouring city of Lucania. His true design, which he concealed, was to join his colleague, and give Asdrubal battle, before his brother could come to his assistance. With this view he took the road to Picenum, and advanced with incredible expedition towards Cisalpine Gaul. At length he drew near his colleague's camp, and entered it in the night, to conceal his arrival from the enemy. A council of war was held, in which it was resolved to give the enemy battle without delay; but Asdrubal, perceiving that the Romans were reinforced, decamped in the night, and, after a long and tedious march, arrived at the Metaurus, a river in Umbria, but deferred passing it till day-break.

Nero, by long marches, joins his colleague.

The Romans, overtaking him, obliged Asdrubal to fight in a disadvantageous situation, when his men were exhausted with hunger and want of rest. The consuls gained a complete victory, killed about fifty-six thousand of the enemy on the spot, and took a great many prisoners. Asdrubal, when he saw the total defeat of his

The consuls attack and defeat Asdrubal's army.

^m Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 41, 42.

army,

*Asdrubal
killed, and*

*his head
thrown to
Hannibal.*

*Advances gain-
ed by Sci-
pio in
Spain.*

*Hannibal
gains some
advantage
over the
new con-
suls.*

army, threw himself into the midst of a Roman battalion, and died fighting. The consul Nero, after this victory, did not remain one whole night in his colleague's camp; but, having cut off Asdrubal's head, and taken it with him, he returned with such expedition, that in six days time he reached his camp at Canusium. On his return, he sent some of the natives of Carthage, whom he had taken prisoners in the late battle, to Hannibal's camp in chains, that they might there publish the victory. At the same time he ordered Asdrubal's head to be thrown into the enemy's trenches. This sight, with the report of the captives, filled Hannibal with horror and chagrin. He is said, in the height of his grief, to have exclaimed, "O Carthage! unhappy Carthage! I am sinking under the pressure of thy fate." Then he immediately decamped, and retired into Brutium^a.

The republic, for a whole year, had received no account from Spain: but now Lucius Scipio, the brother of the proconsul, arrived at Rome, and brought news, that Silanus, the prætor under Scipio, had, with a detachment of ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, routed the united forces of Mago and Hanno; that he himself, with another detachment, had besieged and taken Aurinx, a city of importance on the confines of Lower Bætica; and, lastly, that Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, to whom Mago had fled after his defeat, was confined to a corner of Spain, near the Streights of Gades. Lucius Scipio, who brought these tidings, came to Rome, attended by Hanno, and many other Carthaginians of distinction, who had been taken in the war^b.

Next year the new consuls, Q. Cæcilius Metellus and L. Veturius Philo, carried on the war jointly in Brutium against Hannibal; who, though his troops were, in a manner, starving, and in want of the common necessaries of life, gained, notwithstanding, some advantage in the plains of Cofentia, where he continued encamped for the rest of the summer. While he remained upon the defensive in Italy, Scipio gave the Carthaginians no respite in Spain. He marched, at the head of forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, against the united forces of Mago and Asdrubal, consisting of seventy thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse, engaged them in a large plain near Bæcula, on the confines of

^a Liv. lib. xxvii. cap. 44—51. Polyb. lib. xi. cap. 1. Appian. in Hannibal. Grot. lib. iv. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 9. ^b Liv. lib. xxviii. cap. 1, 2.

Bætica, and gained a complete victory. The Carthaginians, indeed, behaved with extraordinary valour, and made such a resolute resistance, as almost disheartened the Romans; insomuch that Scipio was forced to dismount, seize a buckler, and throw himself into the midst of the African battalions, before he could engage his men to make the necessary efforts to determine the fortune of the day. Asdrubal fled to his camp, but abandoned it in the night, and retired towards the sea. Scipio pursued him close, and coming up with him, made a second furious havock of his men; insomuch that, of his vast army, only six thousand were left, the Carthaginians being for the most part killed, and the Spaniards having returned, after the first battle, to their respective countries. With these small remains of so numerous an army, the three chiefs, Asdrubal, Mago, and Masinissa, intrenched themselves on the summit of a steep hill. As the sea was near, first Asdrubal, and afterwards Mago, escaped in the night, and finding ships ready to sail, embarked for Gades, leaving their men to shift for themselves. Masinissa continued on the hill, where he was invested by Silanus, whom Scipio left with a detachment, while he returned to Tarracon. A few days after the departure of the proconsul, Silanus had a private interview with Masinissa; and though we know not the conditions of the engagements into which the Numidian king entered with Rome, it is certain he engaged himself by such ties as proved indissoluble. The effects of his good understanding with Silanus immediately appeared, the troops he commanded on the rock being allowed to disperse, and he to return into his own dominions, where he took proper measures to support the party he had newly embraced.

Scipio gains a complete victory over the Carthaginians in Spain.

Spain being now almost totally reduced, Scipio sent Lælius into Africa, to negotiate an alliance with Syphax king of Mæsyliæ, who had espoused the Carthaginian party. As Lælius was only a subaltern in Scipio's army, the king, for his greater security, insisted upon having a personal conference with the proconsul himself. In consequence of this demand, Scipio, whose great soul was above the fear of danger, having left the brave Marcius at Tarracon with part of the army, and sent Silanus with the rest to New Carthage, embarked with Lælius for Africa, and arrived at the capital of king Syphax. As the fugitive As-

Scipio passes into Africa to treat with Syphax.

P Liv. lib. xxviii, cap. 12—18. Appian, in Ibericis. Polyb. lib. xi, cap. 21.

drubal happened to arrive there at the same time, the Numidian king would fain have persuaded Scipio to enter into a conference with the Carthaginian, in order to effect an accommodation; but the proconsul excused himself, as not having received any commission to treat of peace. However, he accepted the invitation to dine at the king's table with Asdrubal; on which occasion he appeared as much superior to his rival in the charms of conversation, as he had been in war. Syphax was so much pleased with his eloquence, address, and noble behaviour, that he entered into a secret treaty with him, amusing the Carthaginian, who had a fleet on the coast, till the proconsul was safely arrived at New Carthage.

*Illiturgis,
Castulo,
and Asapa,
taken
by the Ro-
mans.*

Upon his return, he marched in person to besiege Illiturgis, and sent Marcius to reduce Castulo; both which cities had revolted from the Romans. The former being taken by assault, all the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age, were put to the sword, and the city rased. The latter capitulated, and was more favourably treated. Marcius, in the next place, appeared before Asapa, the inhabitants of which, obstinately devoted to the Carthaginians, sallied out to attack the Romans. All of them died fighting, except fifty, who had been left in the city to guard their effects, their wives, and children, whom they had brought into the market-place, designing to destroy them all with fire and sword, in case the Romans should prevail. This trust they discharged upon the first news of the defeat of their countrymen, setting fire to a great pile, on the top of which they had placed the women, children, and their most valuable moveables. This done, they threw themselves into the flames, leaving the Romans masters of an empty city ¹.

*A mutiny in
Scipio's ar-
my.*

While Marcius was thus executing vengeance on the rebellious cities, Scipio returned to New Carthage, where he fell dangerously sick. A report being spread, that he was dead, not only Indibilis and Mandonius, two petty kings mentioned before, immediately revolted from the Romans; but eight thousand legionaries, who were encamped on the banks of the Sucro, mutinied, drove away their leaders, and chose two common soldiers, Atrius and Albius, to conduct them. These fellows, seeing themselves at the head of eight thousand Roman legionaries, had the insolence to usurp the consular dignity, and to order lictors to march before them. The pretence for the

¹ Liv. lib. xxviii. cap. 19—21.

mutiny was their not having received pay for six months. In the mean time the proconsul, having recovered his health, and, by a stratagem, secured the ringleaders of the revolt, caused their heads to be struck off; an example which so terrified the rest, that they all returned to their duty, and took the military oath anew.

Scipio, being informed, that the revolted princes had raised an army of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; and that they were living upon free quarter in the territories of the friends of Rome, marched against them, and coming up with them in the country of the Sedetani, gained a complete victory, seventeen thousand Spaniards being killed upon the spot. After this defeat, the two kings had no resource but in the clemency of the conqueror, who contented himself with obliging them to supply him with money to pay his troops. After this exploit, the proconsul marched with part of his troops towards Gades, the only city of Spain in the Carthaginian interest. His chief design in this journey was to have an opportunity of conferring with Masinissa, who had shut himself up in that city with Mago, and was impatient to have a conference with the Roman general.

The Spanish rebels defeated.

Masinissa enters into an alliance with Rome.

Accordingly, the Numidian prince, under pretence of going out to forage, met Scipio, and entered into an alliance with Rome, advising the proconsul to pass into Africa, and lay siege to Carthage itself, which, he said, would be easily reduced. The treaty being concluded, the proconsul returned to Tarracon, and Masinissa to Gades, after having pillaged some part of the continent, to conceal the true design of his journey. Soon after Mago received orders to leave Gades, and hasten with all his forces to the assistance of Hannibal in Italy. Upon his departure, the Gaditani immediately submitted to the Romans, who were now become masters of all Spain. Mago, in coasting along Spain in his way to Italy, formed a rash design of surprising New Carthage: he lost in the attempt eight thousand men; which misfortune obliged him to stop at the Balearic islands, where he forced ten thousand of the inhabitants into the service of his republic, and did not sail from those islands for Italy till the spring. At Rome the senate no sooner received an account of the reduction of Spain, than they determined to recall Scipio. Accordingly, without giving him time to

Scipio, having reduced all Spain, is recalled.

* Liv. lib. xxviii. cap. 24.

enjoy any rest after his fatigues, or even waiting for the new comitia, they dispatched two persons to succeed him, Cornelius Lentulus, and Manlius Acidinus: the former to govern the Hither Spain, from the Pyrenees to the Suero; and the latter to command in the Farther Spain, from the Suero to the ocean. To these Scipio surrendered the fasces without murmuring; and, attended by his faithful Lælius, and his brother Lucius, immediately set sail with a squadron of ten ships, and returned to Italy.

Yr. of Fl.

2156.

Ante Chr.

192.

U. C. 556.

Scipio chosen consul;

As Scipio arrived at Rome about the time of the new elections, it is not to be expressed with what zeal the centuries gave their suffrages in his favour, though he had not yet attained the years required for the consular dignity, being only between twenty-eight and twenty-nine years of age. The colleague appointed him was P. Licinius Crassus, surnamed Dives, and at this time pontifex maximus. When the fathers came to settle the provinces of the new consuls, Scipio desired to be sent into Africa; but old Fabius, now president of the senate, in a long and studied speech, laboured to set forth the dangers of such an enterprise. It was very visible, that jealousy of a rising merit, which already began to eclipse his own, was what chiefly animated Fabius at this time; and Scipio, in his answer, did not fail to expose this infirmity of the old president. After long and warm debates, the affair of the provinces of the two consuls was put to the vote, when it was decreed, that Scipio should command in Sicily; and that, if he thought it for the advantage of the republic, he might, with the fleet there, consisting only of thirty ships of war, pass into Africa. Licinius was directed to carry on the war against Hannibal in Bruttium. Scipio, whose thoughts were wholly bent on Africa, notwithstanding his colleague, at the persuasion of Fabius, did all he could to obstruct his measures, obtained leave to take with him into Sicily as many volunteers as he could get together, and a power to ask of the allies all things necessary for building and equipping a new fleet. Many of the provinces and cities voluntarily taxed themselves to furnish him with corn, iron, timber, cloth for sails, &c. so that in forty days after the cutting of the timber, he was in a condition to set sail with a fleet of thirty new galleys, and about seven thousand volunteers.

and sent into Sicily.

* Liv. lib. xxviii. cap. 35—38, & seq. Appian, in Ibericis. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 10, &c.

* Plut. in Fab.

In the mean time news were brought to Rome, that Mago, the brother of Hannibal, had landed in Liguria with twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse; and that his army was, soon after his landing, greatly augmented by the Gauls and Ligurians, who flocked to him from all parts. At the same time the consul Licinius sent the senate an account, that a plague raged in his camp, and obliged him to continue inactive. As Hannibal's troops were affected with the same distemper, and had also a famine to struggle with, eighty ships, loaded with provisions for him and his brother Mago, having been lately taken by a Roman squadron, the fears of the people were quieted*.

Mago lands with an army in Italy.

During this inaction in Italy, Scipio, having disciplined the volunteers he had brought with him into Sicily, sent Lælius, with part of them, on board a fleet of thirty galleys, to make a descent in Africa, and pillage the country. Lælius landed near Hippo, laid the territory about it waste, and threw the people of Carthage into the utmost consternation. Masinissa was no sooner informed of the arrival of Lælius, than he went to confer with him; and expressed his surprize, that Scipio delayed his departure from Sicily, since there could never be a more favourable opportunity of attacking Carthage, equally destitute of men and provisions. The Numidian promised to join Scipio, the moment he arrived, with all his forces; but advised Lælius to re-embark, and return without delay, since the Carthaginian fleet was getting ready to intercept him. Lælius followed his advice, and, weighing anchor the next day, arrived safe in Sicily with an immense booty. In the mean time Mago, in Liguria, received a reinforcement of six thousand men, with vast sums for raising troops in Cisalpine Gaul; but, notwithstanding all he could do, Livius and Lucretius, who commanded two Roman armies in the neighbourhood of Ariminum, took their measures so well, that he was forced to continue in Liguria, though he had been ordered by his republic to join his brother in Brutium†.

Lælius makes a descent in Africa.

Scipio, having surprized the city of Locri, which stood on the sea-coast near Sicily, and left Pleminius governor of the place, returned to the island, and there forwarded the preparations for his African expedition, hoping that the next year the republic would suffer him to carry the war into the neighbourhood of Carthage‡. In Spain,

Scipio surprised the city of Locri.

* Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 4. ibid. cap. 6.

† Id. ibid. cap. 3—6.

‡ Id.

*The Span-
ish rebels
entirely
defeated.*

Mandonius and Indibilis, despising the new proconsuls, revolted from the Romans; but were entirely defeated in a pitched battle, thirteen thousand of the Spaniards being killed on the spot, among whom was Indibilis himself, and eight thousand taken prisoners. After this defeat, the Spaniards seized Mandonius, with the other heads of the revolt; and sent them under a strong guard to the camp of the proconsuls Lentulus and Acidinus, who had insisted on this as a condition of their obtaining mercy. In Italy the plague made a dreadful havock in the camp of the consul Licinius, as well as in that of the enemy; so that nothing was attempted on either side during this campaign. Licinius, not being in a condition to return to Rome, named Cæcilius, the proconsul in Brutium, to hold the comitia for the new elections. M. Cornelius Cethegus, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, were chosen consuls. The latter was then in Greece, and, before he left that country, entered into a treaty of peace with Philip, king of Macedon, which was confirmed by the senate. Licinius, in quality of proconsul, was ordered to continue the war against Hannibal, Livius to watch Mago in Cisalpine Gaul, and Scipio to remain in Sicily. The latter was allowed to pass into Africa, and to choose such of the Roman troops in Sicily as he thought fit for that enterprize *.

*Sophonisba
given in
marriage-
to Syphax,
who enters
into an al-
liance with
Carthage.*

As Scipio had gained to the Roman interest the two Numidian kings, Syphax and Masinissa, Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, undertook to detach from the Roman interest one of them at least, by means of his daughter Sophonisba, who possessed extraordinary beauty, a sublime genius, engaging manner, and courage above her sex. Her father, to gain Masinissa, had promised her in marriage to him; but that prince being afterwards unfortunately dispossessed of the throne of his ancestors, Asdrubal gave her to Syphax, who, forgetting his engagements with Scipio, entered into an alliance with Carthage. However, to keep some measures with Rome, he wrote to Scipio, acquainting him with his marriage, the new alliance he had made with the Carthaginians, and the necessity he was under of supporting them, in case they were attacked. The proconsul, notwithstanding this intimation, which he concealed from his troops, embarked at Lilybæum, amidst the shouts and acclamations of an infinite number of people, who had flocked from all

* Liv. lib. xxviii. cap. 24.

* Idem. lib. xxix. cap. 22.

quarters to see the embarkation, and with him a prosperous voyage. He appeared on the poop of his galley; and after a herald had proclaimed silence, addressed a solemn prayer to the gods; which being ended, he ordered a victim to be slain; threw the entrails into the sea; then the trumpets sounding, he weighed anchor, sailed out of the harbour, with a favourable wind, and, arriving safe on the coast of Africa, landed at the Fair Promontory ¹.

The consul Sempronius no sooner arrived in his province, than he marched towards Crotona, where Hannibal was encamped. The Carthaginian met him unexpectedly on his march, and having forced him to fight before he could draw up his men, killed twelve hundred Romans, and obliged the rest to retire in disorder. Notwithstanding this check, the consul being joined by the proconsul Licinius, gave him battle a second time, and proved victorious. After this defeat Hannibal retired to Crotona, and appeared no more in the field during the whole campaign. The consul Sempronius, taking advantage of the enemy's inaction, made himself master of Petilia, Clamptia, Cofentia, and Pandosia; and then returned to Rome to erect a temple to Fortune, which he had vowed before the last battle. The consul Cethegus, who acted against Mago, kept Hetruria and Cisalpine Gaul in awe; so that the Carthaginian, who was not in a condition to force the Roman entrenchments, gave over all thoughts of joining his brother for this year ².

During these transactions in Italy, Scipio, as we have observed above, arrived safe on the coast of Africa. The alarm and terror which this unexpected descent caused at Carthage, is not to be expressed. The republic had no general to oppose Scipio, except Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, who was unequal to him; nor was she provided with any regular and disciplined troops. Scipio, having ordered his fleet to Utica, encamped with his land forces on certain eminences, at a small distance from the coast, and from thence sent a detachment of five hundred men to forage. These were attacked by a flying party, under the command of Hanno, a young warrior, who had been ordered to observe the enemy's motions. The Romans had the advantage, and the young Carthaginian was killed in the engagement. Scipio, looking upon this success as a good omen, immediately drew near to Lochia, a city

Hannibal gains some advantage over Sempronius;

but afterwards defeated by him.

Several cities in Brutium taken by the Romans.

Scipio arrives in Africa.

Hanno defeated.

¹ Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 23, 24. ² Idem. ibid. cap. 36. App. ibid.

which seemed to promise his soldiers a rich booty. He had no sooner planted his scaling-ladders for the assault, than the inhabitants sent a herald to demand their lives, with liberty to retire. Upon this request Scipio founded a retreat; but the greedy soldiers carried on the assault, scaled the walls, and, entering the city, put all, even women and children to the sword. So barbarous an action, and such a flagrant instance of disobedience, did not escape unpunished. The centurions, who had encouraged the soldiers to carry on the attack, were ordered to draw lots, which of them should die. Three of them were executed, and the soldiers deprived of the booty they had taken ^a.

A private conference between Scipio and Masinissa.

After this expedition, Masinissa came privately in the night to confer with Scipio. He had been deprived of his kingdom by Syphax, and restored by the mediation of the Carthaginians, who embraced that opportunity of obliging a prince, whose bravery and enterprising genius gave them no small umbrage. However, Syphax detained Masinissa's mother, whom he had taken prisoner, as a hostage to secure her son's fidelity. Masinissa was sensible, that the Carthaginians were not sincere; and therefore he retained his former affection for Rome, though he had joined Asdrubal with a strong reinforcement of horse. In the private interview he had with Scipio, it was agreed, that the Numidian should continue to deceive the Carthaginians, till an opportunity offered of breaking openly with them, and till he could free himself from the constraint he was under by the captivity of his mother. In the mean time Asdrubal, at the head of twenty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, with an hundred and forty elephants, approached Utica, which Scipio was preparing to invest. Masinissa, who was one of the council of war, persuaded Asdrubal to detach his son Hanno with a thousand horse, to watch the motions of the enemy, and attempt to enter Utica with that reinforcement, promising to favour the enterprize with all his Numidian cavalry. He then gave notice to Scipio of the design, who surprised the detachment, and took Hanno prisoner. Masinissa, not doubting that Asdrubal would willingly exchange his mother for Hanno, joined the Romans with all his forces ^b.

Masinissa joins the Romans,

Syphax, when he saw, that his rival had declared for the Romans, endeavoured first to draw him off from the

^a Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 28. App. in Punic. n. 7, & seq. ^b Ap-
pian. ibid.

party

party he had embraced ; but not succeeding in his aim, he attempted to bribe one of his servants to poison him. This treachery was discovered ; and Syphax, who had hitherto taken upon himself the office of mediator between Rome and Carthage, and encamped apart with his army, which consisted of fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, kept no longer any measures with the Romans. He led his troops before Tholus, a place where the Romans had a magazine of corn, surprised it, and put the garrison to the sword. In the mean time Scipio was so harassed by the enemy, who surrounded him, that he was obliged to raise the siege of Utica, and retire, as the winter approached, to a more commodious post. The place which he chose was a promontory, under which his fleet was anchored. There he fortified his camp, and waited for the return of the spring to renew the war with vigour ^c.

and Syphax the Carthaginians.

Scipio obliged to raise the siege of Utica.

In the mean time cloaths, corn, and provisions of all sorts, were sent from Rome to Scipio's army, notwithstanding the jealousy of old Fabius, who inveighed against the proconsul, and moved in the senate that he should be recalled. When the comitia had elected the new consuls, Cn. Servilius Cæpio, and C. Servilius Geminus, and came to appoint the proconsuls, Scipio was honoured with a particular mark of distinction ; for, while the others were nominated only for one year, he was continued proconsul in Africa till the war should be ended. The winter was spent in fruitless negotiations between Scipio and Syphax, who had assumed anew the quality of mediator. Early in the spring the proconsul sent a detachment to take possession of the old post, where he had encamped when he besieged Utica. The Romans and Africans imagined, that his intention was to renew that enterprize : but his design was to attack the camps of the enemy in the night ; for Syphax was encamped with his army apart from the Carthaginians. This scheme he imparted to his troops the night before the attack ; and it was universally approved. Dividing his troops, he gave the command of one division to Masinissa, and of the other to Lælius, ordering them to invest the camp of Syphax, and to set fire to their barracks, which were of wood, mats, hurdles, and such combustible materials. As for himself, he told Masinissa and Lælius, that he would watch the motions of Asdrubal's army, but sus-

^c Liv. lib. xxix. cap. 35. Appian. in Punic. ubi supra.

*Scipio sur-
prises and
burns the
camps of
Syphax
and Asdru-
bal.*

pend the attack of his entrenchments, till he received advice, that they had penetrated to the centre of the Numidian camp. The whole scheme was happily executed. The camp of Syphax first, and then that of Asdrubal, was surprised. Many of the Carthaginians and Numidians were burnt in their beds; some were suffocated with the smoke; others ran to the gates, and were either stifled in the crowd, or massacred by the enemy. Men, beasts of burden, and elephants, all perished, either in the flames, or by the sword; those who leaped down from the top of the ramparts, to avoid perishing in the flames, were cut in pieces by parties of Roman troops, who had seized all the avenues to the two camps. The plain was covered with dead bodies, and the two camps were filled with heaps of ashes and bones. Forty thousand of the enemy were destroyed either by fire or sword, and five thousand made prisoners. Among the latter were many persons of distinction; particularly eleven Carthaginian senators. The Romans saved an hundred and sixty standards, two thousand seven hundred Numidian horses, and six elephants. Scipio did not lose a hundred men in this decisive action ^d.

The two African commanders, Asdrubal and Syphax, found means to make their escape, with two thousand foot and five hundred horse. The consternation of the people at Carthage was inexpressibly great, when they saw Asdrubal arrive with the poor remains of the shattered army. The suffetes, or supreme magistrates, immediately assembled the senators, who were divided in opinion, some being for recalling Hannibal, others for proposing a truce with the enemy; but the Barcan faction, which was for pursuing the war, and continuing Hannibal in Italy, prevailed. Hanno, the son of Hamilcar, was appointed to command the troops in the room of Asdrubal, who was sentenced to die for his ill conduct; but the troops declaring for him, he avoided the execution of the sentence, and having assembled about eight thousand foot and three thousand horse, endeavoured to serve his country without any commission from the republic. Syphax retired, after his defeat, to Abba, or Obba, where he was soon joined by Asdrubal, and other troops; so that the two African commanders found themselves, in a very short time, in a condition to appear again in the field, having drawn together, from several parts, near thirty thousand men ^e.

^d Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 7. Polyb. lib. xiv. cap. 677—679.
lyb, ibid. 682. Liv. ibid. cap. 7.

^e Po-

With this army they encamped in a place called the Great Plain, about five days march from Utica, which Scipio had invested anew. However, the proconsul was no sooner informed of their motions, than he turned the siege into a blockade, and hastened to attack them. After some skirmishes, the armies came to a general engagement, in which the Romans gained a complete victory. After this success the proconsul detached Lælius and Masinissa, after Syphax, who, with the best part of his troops, hastened back into his own country. Scipio resolved to make himself, in the mean time, master of the towns in the neighbourhood of Carthage. With this view he marched to Tunis, from whence Carthage could be seen, and took it without the loss of a man, the garrison having deserted it at his approach. The Carthaginians, to divert Scipio from laying siege to their capital, having equipped, with incredible expedition, a fleet of a hundred galleys, sent it, under the command of Hamilcar, the father of Hanno, to burn the Roman fleet, which lay under the promontory formerly mentioned. Scipio, perceiving from Tunis the course which the Carthaginians steered, made haste to preserve his fleet. Reaching the port by land before the enemy arrived by sea, he drew up his vessels near to the shore, and repulsed the enemy, who nevertheless took six of his galleys. With this small prize Hamilcar returned to Carthage; and the proconsul thought it advisable to continue where he was, till he could receive from Italy a reinforcement of ships, his whole fleet consisting now but of fourteen galleys*.

Scipio gains a complete victory over Asdrubal and Syphax.

Tunis taken by Scipio.

In the mean time Lælius and Masinissa, who, with the third part of the legions, were gone in pursuit of Syphax, penetrated, after fifteen days march, into the heart of Numidia. Syphax, at the head of a very numerous army, advanced to meet them; but was defeated in a general action which ensued, forced to fly, and pursued to the banks of a river, where Masinissa took him prisoner, together with his son Vermina. After this exploit, the victorious Numidian, with the approbation of Lælius, who was to follow him by slow marches, hastened to Cyrrha, the capital of Syphax's dominions. As he had taken the captive king with him, the city, being destitute of all hopes of relief, readily surrendered†. Masinissa entered it in triumph, and hastened to the palace, with full in-

Syphax defeated and taken prisoner.

The capital of his dominions surrenders.

* Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 8. Appian. in Punic. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 10. Polyb. ibid. 683—685. † Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 11, 12. Appian.

tention to punish Sophonisba, for entering into engagements with his rival after she had been betrothed to him. He no sooner entered the palace than the beautiful queen fell at his feet, and, embracing his knees, conjured him, in the most moving manner, not to deliver her up to the Romans, but rather free her by death from the chains of an insulting enemy. These words made a deep impression on Masinissa; he looked tenderly on her, and, feeling his former flame revive, reached out his hand, as a token that her request was granted. As the fair captive properly belonged to Scipio, and Masinissa, who was but a subaltern in the Roman army, had no right to make such a promise, he was greatly perplexed to know how he should perform it: at length he resolved to follow the dictates of his love, thinking that neither Scipio nor Lælius could lay any claim to her after she was his by a lawful marriage.

*Masinissa
marries
Sophonisba.*

The public rejoicings on this occasion were not over when Lælius arrived. He was so shocked at this precipitate marriage, that he resolved at first to snatch the queen from the nuptial bed, and send her, with the other captives, to Scipio; but, upon mature deliberation, he determined to refer the matter to the judgement of the proconsul, and in the mean time let the prince enjoy his amours. Syphax was sent, under a strong guard, to Scipio's camp, where he was treated with great politeness and respect, the proconsul remembering the hospitable entertainment this prince had formerly given him at his court. As Scipio frequently took pleasure in conversing with his royal captive, he learned of him, that if he had been left to his own judgement, he would have continued faithful to Rome; but that his wife, Sophonisba, having by her irresistible charms made herself mistress of his heart, had induced him to prefer Carthage to Rome. Scipio, fearing she might gain such an ascendant over her new husband, resolved to annul the marriage and take her away. It was not long before Masinissa, having reduced all Numidia, arrived at the proconsul's camp with his new queen. Scipio received him with all possible marks of distinction; but took no notice of Sophonisba, though she entered his tent together with Masinissa. From the proconsul's tent she was conducted to Masinissa's quarters, and there respected as his wife; but Scipio, not chusing to see a Carthaginian woman with the title of queen, in the midst of the Roman army, had a private conference with Masinissa a few days after his arrival. He complimented him, in the first place, on his heroic behaviour; and then, ex-
postulating

*Is re-
proached
for it by
Scipio.*

postulating with him on his late conduct, exhorted him to conquer the love of pleasure, and not suffer himself to be enslaved by a woman, after having subdued a vast kingdom: at the same time he observed, that the spoils and captives taken from the enemy, belonged not to him but to the Romans. He concluded his speech thus: "I am very sensible, that your heart trembles at the thought of the sacrifice I require of you; but return, Masinissa, return to your reason. Hitherto your weakness deserves pity; but it may become unpardonable: your perseverance in it may be attended with a long repentance." The Numidian prince blushed and wept. His heart was rent with opposite passions; but at length his virtue and his interest gained the ascendant over his love.

He promised to shake off his chains; and so far conquered his passion, as to carry in person, to his beloved Sophonisba, the decree which Scipio had pronounced against her, declaring, that she belonged to the Roman people. When he entered his tent, "Receive now (said he), the last testimony of my affection and fidelity. It is out of my power to deliver you from the slavery with which you are threatened, any other way than by death. Remember only whose daughter and whose queen you are; and then surely you cannot be afraid to descend to the shades. Masinissa will soon follow you thither." Tears flowed down the prince's cheeks while he uttered these words; and, as soon as he had spoken them, he rushed out of the tent, where all things were prepared to give the unhappy princess the most speedy and easy death. A slave, whose business it was to prepare poison, entered the tent as soon as Masinissa went out, and presented to the queen the fatal cup, which she took with an air of great composure, upbraiding her weeping nurse for dishonouring her death with her tears. Then turning to the slave, "Let my husband (said she) know, that I die contented, since I die by his orders. Assure him that I was forced, contrary to my inclinations, to enter into engagements with another. My heart has been enslaved to none but him; and as for my body I readily abandon it to the fury of the Romans." Having thus spoken she drank the poison, and almost instantly expired. Scipio, to console the Numidian prince, caressed and diverted him. He styled him king, for the first time, in a juridical way, and presented him with a crown of gold, a curule chair, an embroidered robe, and a tunic adorned with palm-branches. These honours counterbalanced in the prince's heart the

*Sends her
a cup of
poison;*

*which she
drinks
with great
intrepidity.*

remembrance

The Carthaginians make a fraudulent proposal of peace.

remembrance of his dear Sophonisba, and he now conceived hopes of becoming sole master of all Numidia¹.

The winter preventing both armies from entering upon action, Scipio dispatched Lælius with Syphax, and the rest of the captives, to Rome, and returned himself to his old post near Tunis. The Carthaginians, alarmed at his neighbourhood, endeavoured to gain time by a fraudulent treaty of peace, till Hannibal and Mago should arrive from Italy: the better to impose upon the proconsul, they sent deputies to Rome, and with them a small number of Roman captives and deserters; but at the same time they prepared to renew the war with vigour, strengthened their alliances on all sides, and once more prevailed upon Philip of Macedon to engage in their interest. While Scipio, deceived by the fraudulent proposals of the Carthaginians, suspended hostilities in Africa, Lælius arriving at Rome, gave the senators a pompous, but true account of his friend's exploits. This occasioned an universal joy in the city: the prætor published a decree for a general supplication, and the people crowded to the temples to return thanks for the proconsul's success. The senate ordered Syphax to be conducted to Alba, in the country of the Marsi, and there kept to grace the triumph of the Roman general at his return; and confirmed the title which Scipio had given to Masinissa, and sent him new presents in the name of the republic².

Mago defeated in Insubria;

and dies of a wound at sea.

Yr. of Fl.
2158.
Ante Chr.
190.
U. C. 558.

In Italy Hannibal was confined to a corner of Brutium, and had not attempted any thing this campaign. His brother Mago did not venture to give battle to the consul Servilius Geminus, who commanded an army in Hætruria; but, falling upon Insubria, engaged two Roman armies there, under the conduct of the proconsul Corn. Cethegus, and the prætor Quintilius Varus. The victory was long disputed; but Mago being wounded, the Carthaginians were routed, and obliged to take shelter among the mountains of Liguria. There he received strict orders to repair forthwith to Carthage; but he had scarce doubled the island of Sardinia when he died of his wound. Hannibal received the same orders and complied, but not without great reluctance. He resolved to take a body of Brutian troops with him; but these, refusing to abandon their native country, took refuge in the temple of Juno Lucina, where the barbarous Carthaginian caused them all to be massacred. When he was at sea, he often looked

¹ Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 13, 14. Appian. in Punic. Zonar. lib. ix cap. 12.

² Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 16.

back on the country he had hoped to conquer, and is said to have uttered bitter execrations against gods and men. The joy at Rome, on the news of his departure, was inexpressibly great; though old Fabius endeavoured to allay it, by exclaiming, that the Roman state was never in a more deplorable condition; but the people confided in the abilities of Scipio, and public thanks were appointed to be offered to the gods for Hannibal's departure^a.

The Carthaginians break the truce.

Scipio had granted the Carthaginians in Africa a truce, till their ambassadors returned from Rome; but an accident discovered the insincerity of their intentions. The proconsul had sent for a reinforcement of ships both from Sicily and Sardinia. The squadron from Sicily was dispersed by a tempest; and many of the ships being driven near the port of Carthage, were seized and plundered. Scipio sent M. Bebius, with two other deputies, to Carthage, to complain of the injustice, and require satisfaction. The senate, depending on the return of Hannibal, agreed to send them back without an answer; and the quinquereinis which carried the envoys was attacked by the Carthaginian admiral, and, after some resistance, forced to run aground near the shore, where most of the Romans were killed; but the ambassadors themselves had the good luck to escapeⁱ. This perfidiousness was too plain a proof, that the war would be renewed with fresh vigour, as soon as Hannibal arrived; and it was not long before that general, so much wished-for, came within sight of Africa, which he had left at nine years of age, and had not seen for thirty-three years past. He landed at Little Leptis, a city between Susa and Adrumetum. About the same time Lælius and Fulvius returned from Rome, the latter to continue in his post of lieutenant in Scipio's army, and the former in quality of quæstor as well as lieutenant. As for the troops, which Mago commanded in Cisalpine Gaul, the fleet, which carried them, was dispersed by a storm, and most of the ships were taken by the Romans.

Hannibal lands in Africa;

And now the eyes of all nations in Europe and Africa were fixed on the two heroes of the age, Scipio and Hannibal. The latter, being informed, that hostilities were begun anew, gained over several princes of Numidia, and, among the rest, the second son of Syphax, who joined him with a considerable body of Numidian horse. Scipio pursued the war with all the fury which the per-

gains over several prince of Numidia.

^a Appian. de Bell. Hannibal, 346—348. cap. 25. Polyb. lib. xv. 689.

ⁱ Liv. lib. xxx.

fidy of the Carthaginians deserved: he took several towns by assault, put the garrisons to the sword, and made the inhabitants pass under the yoke; however, he dismissed the Carthaginian ambassadors, who had been arrested by Bebius, on their return from Rome, after having treated them with great humanity and politeness, though most of the officers were for retaliating upon them the injuries which the Roman ambassadors had suffered^k.

*The new
consuls.*

In the mean time Tib. Claudius Nero and M. Servilius Pulex being chosen consuls for the next year, they drew lots for their provinces; and it fell to the latter to conduct the army in Etruria, and to the former to command the fleet in Africa; but, by a decree both of the senate and people, he was to leave the direction of all affairs at land wholly to the proconsul.

*Hannibal
advances
against
Scipio.*

As Scipio continued ravaging the territories of Carthage, and taking her cities, Hannibal was ordered to advance and stop his progress. Accordingly, he left Adrumetum, marched a hundred and seventy-five miles, and encamped near Zama, a town in Africa Propria, about seventy-five miles from Carthage. From his new camp he sent out spies to observe the situation and strength of the enemy. These spies, being discovered and apprehended, were, by Scipio's order, led into all the quarters of the camp; and, after they had been shewn every thing which they came to learn, dismissed with money to defray the expence of the journey. Hannibal was so struck with admiration at the magnanimity and confidence of the Roman general, that he immediately resolved to ask an interview, in order, to propose a pacification. With this view he addressed himself to Masinissa, begging him to intercede with the proconsul, and persuade him to grant an interview. Masinissa discharged his commission with zeal; but the people, having got the ascendant at Carthage, would hearken to no measures that tended to an accommodation, orders being dispatched to the general to continue the war, and come to a decisive battle without delay. Notwithstanding these orders, which had been extorted from the senate by the people, Hannibal, having obtained the proconsul's consent to an interview, drew near, and encamped with his army about five miles from the Romans.

*Asks an in-
terview
with Sci-
pio.*

*An inter-
view be-
tween Sci-
pio and
Hannibal.*

There was between the two camps a large plain, entirely open, where no ambush could be laid. Thither the two generals repaired, escorted by a like number of guards;

^k Polyb. *ibid.* 693. Liv. lib. xxx, cap. 29.

and then separating from their attendants, each with his interpreter, they held a private conference. Perhaps two greater men never met, nor was ever any deliberation of more importance. These two heroes had never seen one another; but fame had given each a high esteem of the other. Hannibal is said to have been struck with admiration at the first sight of Scipio. His hair flowed down his back to a great length; he had an equal mixture of majesty and sweetness in his countenance, and was in his full strength and bloom. There was nothing affected, or too negligent, about him; his habit was plain, but neat, and such as became a soldier, who despised the studied elegancies of dress. Their surprize at meeting kept them for some moments in profound silence, which Hannibal first broke with a long descant on the vicissitudes of fortune; then, having artfully flattered the Roman, he proposed the cession of Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and of all the islands between Italy and Africa, as the terms of a peace. Scipio answered with all the haughtiness of a conqueror, that he offered nothing but what the Romans already possessed; that, if he had made such a proposal before he left Italy, it might perhaps have been thought a reasonable preliminary; but that now his republic would insist upon conditions of a different nature, which he proposed, adding, "If you like these conditions, the Roman senate and people will condescend to enter into a treaty with your republic; if not, let us fly to arms, and decide the controversy by the sword." At these words the two generals parted, and each returned to his camp to prepare for a general action ^k.

Early next morning Scipio marched into the plain, and sent a detachment to seize an eminence between the two camps. These, meeting with a detachment sent by Hannibal for the same purpose, repulsed them, and took possession of that post. This skirmish brought on a general action, contrary as some say, to the inclination of Hannibal. Never was a more memorable battle fought, whether we consider the generals, the armies, the two states that contended, or the importance of the victory. Both leaders displayed uncommon skill in drawing up their men, and choosing their ground, and no less courage and resolution in charging the enemy. They both represented to their men, that this battle must decide, whether Rome or Carthage should give law to the world. The Cartha-

*The battle
of Zama.*

^k Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 29. Polyb. lib. xv. 694—697.

ginians,

ginians, especially in the second line, performed wonders, repulsing three times the Roman legionaries with great slaughter. Hannibal's first line, which consisted of mercenaries, was put to the rout at the first onset, which occasioned the defeat of the second line; for the Romans, pushing the routed mercenaries with their bucklers, forced them back on the Carthaginians; by which means they put the second line into confusion, and at length obliged them to give ground, and betake themselves to flight; but the greatest difficulty was, to break into the enemy's phalanx, where Hannibal commanded in person.

The gallant behaviour of Hannibal's phalanx.

The phalanx was the select part of their army, formed of those veterans who had often made the Romans tremble in the plains of Italy. Scipio advanced boldly at the head of his hastati to attack this formidable body; but the ground being covered with dead bodies, bucklers, and darts, and the earth, soaked with blood, so slippery, that his men could hardly keep their feet, he commanded the principes and triarii to join the hastati; and having drawn up all his men in one great front, advanced against Hannibal, who, at the head of his phalanx, kept his men close, and waited for the enemy. The Romans fell upon this last body with a fury not to be expressed; but the Carthaginians, encouraged by the presence and example of their leader, maintained their ground, against the utmost efforts of the whole Roman infantry. Scipio, resolving either to complete the victory, or die in the attempt, exerted, at the head of the legionaries, all his skill, and personal bravery; but could not break into that impenetrable body. The attack was often renewed, to no purpose. The ground was covered with heaps of dead bodies; but not one of the Carthaginians offered to fly, or even quit his rank. While the proconsul redoubled his efforts to no purpose, Lælius and Masinissa, returning from the pursuit of the Carthaginian and Numidian cavalry, appeared very seasonably on the field of battle, and attacked the phalanx in the rear. And now Hannibal could resist no longer; his phalanx was put in disorder, and so terrible a slaughter was made of those brave men, that few of them escaped. Hannibal, after having signalized himself by a thousand acts of valour, was at length obliged to save himself by flight. Being favoured by the darkness of the night, he got safe into Thon, a small city in that neighbourhood, attended only by twenty horsemen. From thence he fled, with one man only, in whom he could confide; and, taking the road to Adrumetum, reached that

Hannibal totally defeated.

that city in two days and two nights. In this action above twenty thousand men were slain on the side of the Carthaginians, and as many prisoners taken, among whom were many Macedonians, with Sosipater, their commander. The Romans did not lose above two thousand men; a memorable victory, which raised Scipio above Hannibal, and paved the way for the Romans to the conquest of the world¹.

Hannibal was soon called from Adrumetum to Carthage, where he declared in the senate, that they had no resource but in a peace. These words, from the mouth of the warlike Hannibal, were decisive; and Carthage now thought of nothing but using all means to soften the Roman general, whose humane temper was well known. Thirty of the chief nobility were dispatched in haste to Tunis, where he had fixed his quarters. These deputies spared neither submissions, protestations, nor promises. Scipio received them with the haughty air of a conqueror, and seemed not to give ear to their proposals: but, in reality, he was as fond of concluding a peace as they; for he had intelligence from his friends in Rome, that the consul Nero was equipping a fleet with all expedition, in order to come into Africa, and rob him of the glory of finishing the war in that continent. Next day, therefore, he sent for the deputies, whom he had rejected before, and imparted to them the conditions on which he was willing to grant a peace².

The Carthaginians sue for a peace.

These imported, 1. That the Carthaginians should live according to their own laws, and enjoy all the cities and provinces which they had in Africa before the war; but the Romans should possess Spain, with all the islands in the Mediterranean. 2. That the Carthaginians should deliver up to the Romans all their deserters, fugitive slaves, prisoners of war, and all the Italians whom Hannibal had forced to follow him. 3. That they should surrender into Scipio's hands all their ships of war, except ten triremes, with all their tamed elephants, and tame no more. 4. That the republic of Carthage should enter into no war, either in Africa or elsewhere, without the consent of the Roman people. 5. That they should restore to Masinissa all they had usurped from him and his ancestors, and even enter into an alliance with him. 6. That they should supply the Roman legions with corn,

Articles of peace between Rome and Carthage.

¹ Polyb. lib. xv. 697—702. Liv. lib. xxx. 30—35. Appian. in Punic. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 19. ² Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 35.

and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of their ambassadors from Rome. 7. That they should pay the Romans, in the space of fifty years, ten thousand talents, at equal payments; and deliver up to Scipio a hundred such hostages as he should choose. That neither the peace nor the truce should take place, till the Carthaginians had restored to the Romans the ships and effects taken from them during the late truce; and that the Roman armies should leave Africa within fifty days after the conclusion of the treaty. These were mortifying conditions, but readily complied with, Hannibal himself declaring zealously for a peace. Pursuant to his advice deputies were sent to Scipio's camp, to make satisfaction for the ships and effects taken from the Romans during the last truce; the whole sum amounting to twenty-five thousand pounds weight of silver^a.

*The Carthaginians
dispatch
ambassadors to
Rome.*

Then the suspension of arms took place, and ambassadors dispatched to Rome to obtain of the senate and people a ratification of the treaty. When the deputies were introduced into the senate, Asdrubal, surnamed the Ram, who was at the head of them, and had always opposed the Barcan faction, made a modest speech, in which he laid all the blame of the late war on the family of Hamilcar, and endeavoured to move the Romans to compassion, by representing the deplorable condition to which the city and republic of Carthage were reduced. The fathers were divided in opinion; some were for concluding a peace on the terms proposed by Scipio, who, said they, is certainly the best judge, in the present case, of what is most for the interest of Rome: but as Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and P. Ælius Pætus had been lately chosen consuls, and the command of the fleet had fallen to the former, all his friends and relations were for continuing the war, that he might have the glory of completing the great work begun by Scipio. Among the rest C. Lentulus maintained, that nothing could be more for the interest of Rome, than utterly to destroy Carthage, and put it out of the power of the perfidious Africans to hurt Rome for the future. In the close of his speech, turning to the chief of the embassy, "What gods (said he) will you call to witness the sincerity of your oaths?" To which Asdrubal immediately replied, "The same who have so severely punished us for the breach of them." This answer was applauded by the assembly; and the senate perceiving that Lentulus had no

^a Polyb. lib. xv. cap. 709. Appian. in Punic. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 14.

other view in declaiming with so much zeal against a peace, than to give the consul, his relation, an opportunity of finishing the war, to the prejudice of Scipio, passed a decree, granting the Carthaginians their request. The consul Lentulus appealed to the people, who, being assembled, gave their consent to a peace with Carthage, declaring, that they would suffer none but Scipio to conclude it, or bring back the troops to Rome. The Carthaginian ambassadors were therefore dismissed with a favourable answer; and ten deputies, attended by the feciales of the republic, sent with them, to assist Scipio in settling the articles of the treaty *.

The senate and people of Rome consent to a peace with Carthage.

Upon their arrival at the proconsul's camp, the Carthaginians began to execute the articles. In the first place they delivered up all deserters and prisoners of war, and then their elephants, of which Scipio sent some to Rome, and gave the rest to Masinissa; but nothing was more mortifying to the Carthaginians, than the surrender of all their ships, galleys, and vessels, except ten triremes, to the number of five hundred sail. These Scipio burnt at sea, within sight of Carthage. The last thing that remained was to discharge the first payment of the tribute, which the Romans had required for fifty years; and this article was also executed, a tax being laid on all the citizens of Carthage for raising this sum †.

Yr. of Fl.
2160.
Ante Chr.
188.
U. C. 560.

The articles of the treaty executed. The second Punic war ended.

Scipio now prepared for his departure; but, before he left Africa, with the consent of the commissioners, he settled Masinissa in the peaceable possession of his hereditary dominions, and of all the places he had taken from Syphax. This step being taken he sailed to Lilybæum, and thence to Italy. The news of his landing were no sooner spread in the neighbouring places, than the people flocked from all parts to see the deliverer of Rome, and the conqueror of Hannibal. From the port where he landed to Rome, the roads were crowded with infinite numbers of people, not only the citizens, but even the peasants, running to behold and applaud the man to whom they owed their liberty and preservation. As he drew near Rome the whole city went out to meet him; and such of the citizens and senators as had at first opposed his expedition, were the most earnest to congratulate him on the success of it. He wanted only to have received the congratulations of Fabius; but he was dead. However, the conqueror had

Scipio returns to Rome.

* Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 38. Appian, de Bell. Hannib. cap. 31.
† Liv. ibid. cap. 42, 43.

*Triumphs,
and ac-
quires the
sur-name of
Africanus*

the satisfaction to find, that the predictions of this old general had proved false, and served only to augment his glory. Both senate and people concurred in decreeing him a triumph, which was the most magnificent that had ever been seen in Rome (N). The senator, Terentius Culeo, who had been taken by the Carthaginians, and delivered by Scipio from a cruel captivity, to shew his gratitude, wore, in the triumphal procession, the pileus, as a symbol of his having obtained his freedom. The booty Scipio brought from Africa was immense; among other things he delivered to the quæstors one hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight of silver. The republic, to shew her gratitude to a man, who had done her more important services than any other commander, would have raised him above the level of other citizens, by bestowing on him, as some authors write, the perpetual dictatorship, and erecting statues to him in the comitium near the rostra, before the senate-house, and even on the Capitol; but Scipio wisely declined these extraordinary honours, contenting himself with the glorious name of Africanus, which history has preserved to him, as a lasting monument of his conquests in Africa^a.



C H A P. XLII.

The History of Rome, from the End of the second Punic War to the Destruction of Carthage.

ROME, by the peace concluded with Carthage, was delivered from those continual alarms she had long been under from so powerful a rival; but she was not yet in such a state of peace and security as to shut the temple

^a Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 43, 44. Polyb. lib. xvi. cap. 703, 704. Ap-
pian. Bell. Pun. 72—79. Zonar. lib. ix. cap. 14.

(N) Polybius tells us, that king Syphax was carried in triumph, and that he died a few days after in prison; but he is contradicted by all the ancients, who say, that the captive king died before the triumph at Tibur, whither he had been removed from Alba,

the place of his confinement. Among the captives was, according to some writers, the famous poet Terence, at that time very young; at least it is certain, that he was a native of Africa, and was afterwards enfranchised by Terentius Lucanus, whose name he took.

of

of Janus. While the treaty with the Carthaginians was upon the carpet, the Boii, entering the territories of the allies of Rome, laid them waste; hostilities which obliged the consul, Ælius Pætus, to take the field. He detached Oppius, with two legions, and about two thousand auxiliaries, to advance and ravage the enemy's country; but that general was surprised by the Boii, surrounded on all sides, and cut off with seven thousand of his men. The consul took the same route in order to revenge his defeat; but the Gauls appearing no more in the field, he pillaged their country, and then obliged the Ingauni, who inhabited a small canton of Liguria Maritima, to enter into an alliance with Rome*. These were the only exploits of the consul Ælius during this campaign. Upon his return to Rome a decree was passed, empowering him to name a general to proceed with a fleet to Macedon; for the senate had received advice from the Rhodians, and from Attalus king of Pergamus, that Philip of Macedon was employed in soliciting the states of Asia to join him against Rome. The person whom the consul named for this expedition was Lævinus, who no sooner appeared on the coasts of Macedon, than he was joined by Aurelius, who had long resided in Greece to defend it, with a small squadron and a few Roman troops. These two having consulted on the state of Macedon and Greece, agreed to write to the senate, that they thought it necessary to declare war against king Philip, who was preparing to make a descent upon Italy. These letters arrived soon after the election of the new consuls, P. Sulpitius Galba and C. Aurelius Cotta, who having assembled the people, prevailed upon them to vote for a war with the king of Macedon, notwithstanding the opposition of Bebius, a tribune of the people, who endeavoured to persuade the centuries that the nobility, from party-views, hindered them from enjoying any repose. The consul, Sulpitius, to whose lot Macedon fell, passed into that kingdom with two legions; and, being assisted by Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Ætolians, gained great advantages over Philip.

While the consul Sulpitius was employed in Macedon, the Gauls, commanded by Hamilcar, whom Hanno had left in Italy, made an irruption into the lands of the allies of Rome; and, having surprised Placentia, put all the citizens to the sword. They advanced to Cremona; but the inhabitants of that city, shutting their gates against

*The Boii
gain an
advantage
over the
Romans.*

*The Ro-
mans re-
solve upon
a war
with the
king of
Macedon.*

* Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 2.

*The Gauls
entirely de-
feated by
the prætor
Furius.*

them, gave notice of their danger to Furius Purpureus the Roman prætor, who commanded five thousand men of the allies in the neighbourhood of Ariminum. Furius, before he marched to their relief, wrote to the senate, desiring succours, the Gauls being above forty thousand strong. In consequence of this intimation, the fathers decreed, that either the consul Aurelius, who was in Rome, should put himself at the head of his legions, which were encamped in Hetruria, and hasten to the relief of Cremona; or, in case he declined it, that those legions should march to Ariminum without him, and be commanded in that expedition by Furius, who should send his five thousand men into Hetruria. As Aurelius chose rather to continue at Rome, Furius, at the head of his legions, marched against the enemy, defeated them in a pitched battle near Cremona, and killed above thirty thousand on the spot. The victorious prætor returned to Rome, where, after a warm debate in the senate, he was decreed a triumph. This is the first instance we find in the Roman history, of a triumph granted to a general, who had fought under the auspices of another^t.

In the following consulate of Cornelius Lentulus and P. Villius Tappulus, the Ætolians joined with the Romans against the king of Macedon; but Villius, to whose lot Macedon fell, staid at Rome till the season was too far advanced to undertake any thing of moment this campaign. The other consul, Lentulus, who remained in Italy, instead of marching against the Gauls, who were not yet quelled, staid at Rome, though there was no business of sufficient importance to detain him in the capital. The consular year being expired, the republic bestowed the fasces on Quintus Flaminius and Sext. Ælius Catus, though neither of them had been in the prætorship; and the former, who was but thirty years of age, had never been so much as ædile. The war of Macedon fell to the lot of Flaminius, and that of Italy to Ælius. Cato was, at the same time, appointed prætor of Sardinia, where he made himself remarkable for his frugality, austerity of life, and rigorous administration of justice^t.

*Progress of
Flaminius
in Mac-
don.*

Flaminius immediately set out for his province, where he forced the entrenchments of king Philip, opened himself a way into the heart of Macedon, took several towns in Thessaly, and gained over the Achæans to the interest of Rome. His colleague Ælius, who had performed no-

^s Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 48. Fast. Capit.

^t Plut. in Caton.

thing worth mentioning in Cisalpine Gaul, when the time of the elections drew near, was called home to assemble the centuries. The persons raised to the consulate this year were C. Cornelius Cethegus and Q. Minutius Rufus. They were both sent into Cisalpine Gaul, against Hamilcar, who still headed the revolt in that country. Flaminius was continued, in quality of proconsul, general of all the Roman forces in Greece. He received a reinforcement of five thousand foot, three hundred horse, and three thousand seamen and rowers, and his brother Quintus was appointed to command the fleet under him. Flaminius, having gained over the city of Thebes, and all Boeotia, to the Roman interest, marched into Thessaly in pursuit of Philip, and came up with him in the plains of Cynocephalæ. Here a general engagement ensuing, the Macedonians were defeated, eight thousand of them being killed, and five thousand taken prisoners. At the same time Androsthenes, one of Philip's generals, whom that prince had left in Corinth with six thousand men, was defeated by Nicostratus, prætor of the Achæans. The Macedonian, having now no other resource but in a peace, submitted to such terms as Flaminius was pleased to impose *. Thus ended the first Macedonian war, of which we have given an account in our history of Greece.

Philip submits to the terms proposed by Flaminius.

The Gauls defeated.

In Italy the war, which was carried on with the Gauls by the two consuls, gave the people more concern than that of Macedon. But their fears were soon quieted; for Cethegus, who marched against the Insubres and Cenomani, gained a complete victory over them on the banks of the Mincius. Thirty thousand were killed upon the spot, and five thousand seven hundred made prisoners, with their general Hamilcar. Minutius, the other consul, having no opportunity of coming to a pitched battle with the Ligures and Boii, over-ran their country, and laid it waste. For these successes the senate and people ordered public thanksgivings in all the temples of Rome for four days *. The republic thought it necessary at this time to increase the number of prætors to six, by creating two new ones for the government of Spain, which she divided into two provinces, by the names of Hither Spain and Farther Spain. The Spaniards, highly displeased to see their country reduced to the state of Roman provinces, took arms, and falling upon Sempronius, prætor

The Spaniards revolt.

* Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 14. Plut. in Flam. Polyb. lib. xiii. Justin. lib. xxx. * Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 30, 31. Polyb. Justin. ibid.

of Higher Spain, cut him off, with most of his troops. In Farther Spain several towns revolted; and there was almost a general disposition to shake off the Roman yoke^u.

*Greece de-
clared free.*

The new consuls, L. Furius Purpureo and M. Claudius Marcellus, were ordered to continue the war with the Cisalpine Gauls; but Flaminius was appointed to act as general in Greece, till the treaty with Macedon should be concluded. Ten commissioners were sent from Rome to assist him in this undertaking: these, by the advice of Flaminius, decreed, that all the Greek cities, both in Europe and Asia, should be restored to perfect liberty. This decree was soon after proclaimed by a herald in an assembly of Greeks, met from all parts to celebrate the Isthmian games. Their amazement and joy on this occasion was inexpressible. Many speeches were made in praise of the Roman greatness and generosity. The Ætolians, who had been refused some towns which they claimed, were the only people dissatisfied with the peace: they complained of it, and had recourse to Antiochus king of Syria, who, at their instigation, passed into Europe, under pretence of recovering Thrace, which his great-grandfather Seleucus Nicator had conquered from Lyfimachus.

*The Gauls
utterly de-
feated.*

In Italy the consuls carried on the war with great success against the Gauls, and entirely destroyed two considerable armies of those rebels, plundered their country, and returned to Rome loaded with booty. After these exploits, the republic was wholly employed in publishing new edicts. The pontifices and augurs were now required, for the first time, to pay a tax towards the expences of the war; but they were at the same time eased of one burthen some part of their function, a new sort of sacerdotal college being erected, under the name of *epulones*, whose office was confined to the care of religious feasts. At first these *epulones* were three only, and all chosen out of the plebeian families: the three first were C. Lincius Lucullus, T. Romuleius, then tribune of the people, who had got the law passed, and Porcius Læcas, who, two years before, while he was tribune of the people, had, against all opposition, carried a law, forbidding, under very severe penalties, any magistrate to cause a Roman citizen to be whipped with rods^v. This was called the Porcian law, from Porcius Læcas, first tribune of the people, and afterwards one of the *epulones*^x.

*The epu-
lones insti-
tuted.*

*The Por-
cian law.*

^u Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 14. 25. ^v Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 36. 37.
^x Cic. de Orator. lib. iii.

The consul Marcellus, when the time for the new elections arrived assembled the centuries, who raised to the consular dignity L. Valerius Flaccus and M. Porcius Cato. The conduct of the war in Spain fell by lot to the latter; but while he was making the necessary preparations for his departure, the Roman ladies took a step, which obliged him to stay longer at Rome than he expected. About eighteen years before, a tribune of the people, named Oppius, had got a law passed, forbidding even the richest of the Roman ladies to use above half an ounce of gold in their apparel, to wear habits of various colours, or to make use of chariots, either at Rome, or in the neighbouring villages, unless they were to assist at a public sacrifice at least a mile from the city. The women of distinction, thinking it intolerable to be under this restraint, now that the republic abounded with riches, made great efforts to get the law repealed. Valerius and Fundanius, two of the tribunes, presented their request to the comitia; and never was an assembly more divided: even the women, neglecting the orders of their husbands, the rules of decency, and the public authority, ran thither, beset the passages which led from the Capitol to the voting-place, solicited the men, as they passed, for their suffrages, and urged the justice of their pretensions. As the affair was more than one day under deliberation, the women flocked to Rome from all the neighbouring colonies and towns, and offered petitions to the consuls and prætors. Cato was inexorable; he made an harangue to the assembly in behalf of the law, full of satirical reflections on the women, for their appearing in public to solicit votes: but the tribune Valerius made a very eloquent speech in behalf of the women, in which he excused their appearing in public to solicit their own cause, and urged the reasonableness of repealing the Oppian law. His discourse made such an impression on the minds of the people, that they all voted for the abrogation of the law, Cato being the only man who dissented.

The Roman women petition against the Oppian law.

The law is repealed.

The consul set out for Spain with two legions, five thousand auxiliaries, and five hundred horse. He embarked at Luna in Hetruria, and landed at Rhoda, now Roses, in Catalonia: from thence he marched by land to Emporiæ, where he was joined by the prætor Helvius, who had just gained a considerable victory over the Spaniards. As Cato's troops consisted, for the most part, of

Cato sets out for Spain.

*His care in
disciplining
his troops.*

raw soldiers, he took great pains to discipline them, considering that they had to deal with the Spaniards, who, in their wars with the Romans and Carthaginians, had learned the military art, and were naturally brave and courageous. The general himself was a pattern to his men of vigilance, sobriety, and assiduity in labour: his dress was always plain, he readily exposed himself to the inclemencies of the season, and his provisions were the same as those of the common soldiers. By this conduct he soon established a proper discipline among his troops, and then marched in quest of the enemy; having first sent away his fleet, that his soldiers might place all their hopes in their bravery.

*Cato de-
feats the
Spaniards.*

When he approached the enemy, he took a compass, and posted his army behind them in the plain; so that the Spaniards were between him and his camp. In the general action which ensued, the Spaniards were, by Cato's admirable conduct, entirely defeated. After this victory, deputies flocked to his camp from all the neighbouring cities, intreating him to pardon them; but he did not accept their submissions, till they had given him hostages. As the dread of his name procured him great respect in all the provinces beyond the Iberus, he wrote the same day private letters to the commanders of several fortified towns, ordering them to demolish, without delay, their fortifications, assuring them, that he would pardon none but such as readily complied with his orders. Every one of the commanders, believing the order to be sent only to himself, immediately beat down the walls and towers; so that all the places beyond the Iberus were left defenceless, and seized by the Romans without opposition ².

*Takes
several
towns.*

After having taken these precautions, the consul marched into Farther Spain, to assist Manlius the prætor; but not being able to bring the enemy to a battle, he returned to his old camp upon the banks of the Iberus. In his way he took several towns, and a prodigious booty, bestowing on each of his soldiers, besides the spoils, a pound weight of silver. When some of the officers seemed surprised at this liberality, he told them, "It is better that many of the Romans should return home with silver, than a few only with gold." Of all the booty he appropriated nothing to his own use, but continued to live in as frugal a manner as the meanest soldier. The campaign being ended, he sailed back to Rome with his

² Liv. lib. xxxiv. cap. 15. Appian. in Iberic. Plut. in Caton.

troops, and was honoured the next year with a triumph; after which he led a private life, employing his leisure in study (A).

Though a peace was concluded with Philip, yet the senate, being apprised that sooner or later they must break with Antiochus, judged it necessary that Flaminius should continue in Greece; and as there was reason to suspect that Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, would join the king of Syria, Flaminius entered into an alliance with him on the conditions we have related in the history of the Lacedæmonians. The proconsul, having entirely rescued Greece from slavery, and put it out of the power either of Philip or Nabis to disturb the peace he had established in all parts, returned to Rome, where he was honoured with a triumph which lasted three days ^a.

Nabis submits to the terms proposed by Flaminius.

In the course of the following year, when Scipio Africanus and Tiberius Sempronius Longus were consuls, nothing happened worth mentioning, except a victory which the latter gained over the Cisalpine Gauls ^b. In the beginning of the next year, when Cornelius Merula and Minutius Thermus were consuls, three ambassadors came to Rome from Antiochus, to propose an alliance with the republic; but the Romans requiring him to renounce all his pretensions to Thrace, Æolis, and Ionia, to which he had an undoubted right, the ambassadors returned to Antioch, much dissatisfied with the reception they had met with at Rome ^c. This year, P. Cornelius Scipio, surnamed Nasica, gained a considerable victory over the Lusitanians, who inhabited the country we now call the kingdom of Portugal. After this, he left Spain, and resigned his army to Fulvius, his successor, who defeated, in a pitched battle, the united forces of the Vaccæi, Vectones, and Celtiberians, and took Hilermus, one of their kings, prisoner. In Hither Spain, Flaminius made himself master of Ilucia, a strong town, and cleared the country of the banditti. In Cisalpine Gaul, the consul Merula defeated the Boii near Mutina, killed fourteen thousand on the spot, made near two thousand prisoners, among whom were three of their generals, and took two hundred and twelve colours, with sixty-three Gallic carts

The Gauls defeated.

The success of the Romans in Spain and Gaul.

^a Liv. lib. xxxiv. cap. 24—36.. Polyb. lib. iv. cap. 81. Plut. in Flamin.
^b Liv. ibid. cap. 46, 47. ^c Id. ibid. cap. 57. Appian in Syriac.

(A) He wrote a book of the and another of agriculture, in origin of the cities of Italy, which he took great pleasure.

loaded

loaded with baggage. However, this victory was much disputed, and cost the conquerors dear; for they lost five thousand men, legionaries and auxiliaries, among whom were twenty-three centurions, two tribunes of the second legion, and many officers of the allies. Notwithstanding this victory, Merula was refused a triumph, being charged by Marcellus, one of his lieutenants, with some misconduct during the action. Q. Minutius Thermus, the other consul, marched against the Ligures, who, to the number of fifty thousand, were encamped near Pisa; but as the consular army consisted for the most part of raw and undisciplined troops, Thermus acted only upon the defensive ^c.

When the time for electing new consuls drew near, two patricians, of high birth and great merit, offered their service to the republic, namely, Scipio Nasica and L. Quinctius. Two other illustrious citizens contended for the plebeian consulship, Lælius and Domitius Ænobarbus. Nasica and Lælius were supported by Africanus, who was cousin-german to the former, and united to the latter by the ties of an intimate friendship. Quinctius was recommended by his brother Flaminius, who had lately been so successful in Greece and Macedon. When the day appointed for the elections arrived, it appeared, that Flaminius had more interest than Scipio, who had the double mortification of not succeeding either for his cousin or his friend; so that Quinctius was preferred to Nasica, and Ænobarbus to Lælius, though the plebeian consul was not recommended by any extraordinary merit of his own, or his friends ^d. Time had lessened the esteem and veneration of the people for the conqueror of Hannibal; besides, he had disoblged the commons, by the invidious distinction he had procured the senators the year before, of sitting in the orchestra at the scenic shews apart from other spectators. The new consuls were scarce entered upon their office, when news were brought to Rome of the defeat of the Ligurians by Thermus, now proconsul. He had been drawn by the enemy into a kind of Caudine forks, but rescued from danger by a stratagem of the Numidian horse in his army: these, advancing towards the posts the Ligurians had seized, galloped up and down the plain, without offering to attack them; so that they were rather an entertaining fight than matter of terror. Nothing could be more contemptible in

Little regard shown to Scipio by the Roman people.

^c Liv. lib. xxxv. cap. 1—7. ^d Idem ibid. cap. 10.

appearance than the Numidian squadron; the men had no arms but one dart each; their horses were small and lean, and, as they had no bridles, they thrust out their necks, and hung down their heads, when they galloped. The Numidians added to the ridiculousness of their appearance from design, affecting to fall off their horses, to raise the laugh and shouts of the enemy. This scene was so agreeable to the Ligurians, that many of them, not apprehending any danger from so contemptible an enemy, quitted their arms and ranks, and, sitting down on the grass, entertained themselves with so diverting a sight. The Numidians, advancing nearer and nearer, as if they could not govern their horses, on a sudden clapping their spurs to them, flew through the Ligurian battalions with incredible swiftness, and, entering the plain, set fire to the enemy's magazines. This conflagration caused such a diversion, that one pass was left unguarded, which gave the Romans an opportunity of seizing it, and extricating themselves out of the snare. Rome sent the proconsul a reinforcement of four thousand foot, and two hundred horse; then he forced them to give him battle, and gained a complete victory over them. Nine thousand of the enemy were killed on the spot, their army was dispersed, and their camp plundered^d.

The Ligurians defeated.

During these transactions in Italy the Ætolians raised new disturbances in Greece. They resolved, in a general diet of the nation, to renounce their alliance with Rome, and form a new confederacy against her. With this view they sent deputies to Philip, Nabis, and Antiochus. Nabis immediately took arms, and besieged Gythium. Upon this beginning of a general commotion in Greece, the senate sent three ambassadors to the king of Syria; and on this occasion it was, that Scipio Africanus, who accompanied them without a commission, had the famous conference with Hannibal, who being persecuted at home by the Romans and the Barcan faction, had taken refuge in the court of Antiochus. As Rome would not abate any thing of her first pretensions, the conference between the king and the Roman ambassadors was warm, but not long. From this time Antiochus resolved to declare war against Rome, and began to make the necessary preparations for passing into Greece, contrary to the advice of Hannibal, who pressed him to invade Italy. Pursuant to the resolution he had taken of making Greece the seat of

^d Liv. lib. xxxv. cap. 11.

*Antiochus
lands in
Greece.*

war, he transported himself thither with only ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants, these being all the forces he had ready. In consequence of this descent war was immediately declared at Rome against Antiochus. The new consuls, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica and M. Acilius Glabrio, drew lots for their provinces; and Greece falling to the latter, he immediately set out for his province with twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants. On his arrival in Greece, he was joined by the allies of the republic in that country, and, with their assistance, soon subdued all Thessaly. In the mean time Antiochus seized the famous streights of Thermopylæ; but the consul, by the advice and assistance of Cato, who served in no higher a station than that of a legionary tribune, forced the Syrian's strong entrenchments, and obliged him to abandon Greece and retire to Ephesus. About the same time Livius, the Roman admiral, gained a complete victory over the Syrians at sea. But of these exploits we have given an account in the history of Syria.

*Is defeated
at the pass
of Thermo-
pylæ.*

*The Boii
entirely
subdued.*

The joy of the Roman people for these successes in the Levant was greatly heightened by the account they received from Cisalpine Gaul, of the entire reduction of the Boii by Scipio Nasica. This whole nation being subjected, their lands were shared among the Roman colonies sent thither for that purpose. The same year the proconsul, Thermus, finished the war with the Ligurians, by the reduction of their whole country; so that Italy now enjoyed a profound tranquility. Endeavours were used by one of the tribunes to have Nasica and Thermus triumph jointly; but the senate granted that honour to the former only. At the same time the senate granted an ovation to the proprætor Fulvius Nobilior, for having subdued the Vætones and Oretani in Spain.

The consuls chosen for the new year were L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Lælius, the former brother, the other friend, of the great Scipio. As Lælius had the reputation of being the abler commander, he artfully proposed to his colleague, that, instead of drawing lots, they should leave the matter to the decision of the senate. Scipio Africanus advised his brother to accept the proposal; and, when the affair was laid before the senate, he offered to serve under his brother in quality of lieutenant. There needed no other argument; the fathers immediately assigned Asia to

* Liv. lib. xxxvii. cap. 46. & lib. xxxvi. cap. 40. Tab. Triumph.

the two Scipios, as their common province. They embarked at Brundisium with thirteen thousand men, and landed at Apollonia. But of the success that attended them in that war, we have spoken in the history of Syria.

The consular year being expired, the fasces were transferred from Scipio and Lælius to M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso. The former was sent into Ætolia, to settle the affairs of that country; and the latter into Asia, where he took upon him the command of the army which had defeated Antiochus at Magnesia. As no nation had lent Antiochus more powerful succours than the Gallo-Greeks, or Galatians, the consul resolved to march against them, and attempt the reduction of their country. They were originally Gauls, who, to the number of twenty thousand, had, in the time of Brennus, crossed the Alps, and, passing through Thrace, entered Asia, and settled in an inland country beyond Caria and Phrygia. The consul, being assisted in his long march by Seleucus, the king of Syria's son, and by Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, arrived at length on the confines of Galatia. Upon his approach the Galatians retired, with all their effects and provisions, to the tops of high mountains, with a design to tire the Romans, by leaving them to languish away their time in desolate plains. The consul marched first against those Galatians called Tolistobii, who were posted on Mount Olympus, forced their entrenchments, slew great numbers of them, and took forty thousand prisoners, including women and children. After the defeat of the Tolistobii, the consul led his army against the Tectofagi and Troemi, posted on Mount Magaba, attacked their entrenchments with the same success, and forced the whole nation to sue for peace. He would not treat with them on the spot; but ordered their deputies to follow him to Ephesus, whither he retired with his army, the weather beginning to be very cold in Galatia. The Galatians obeyed, and concluded a peace with the consul on his own terms^f.

The Romans carry the war into Galatia.

The Galatians entirely reduced.

The war with the Gauls in Asia was succeeded by a rupture with the Gauls and Ligurians in Italy. M. Valerius Messala, one of the new-chosen consuls, repaired to Pisa, to watch the motions of the latter; and C. Livius Salinator, the other consul, marched against the former. Fulvius and Manlius were continued in their respective provinces, in quality of proconsuls. Fulvius had, during

War with the Gauls and Ligurians.

^f Liv. lib. xxxviii. cap. 12—28. Polyb. Legat. 35. Val Max. lib. vi. cap. 1.

his

The Ligurians subdued.

his consulship, established all the cities on the continent of Greece in their ancient freedom; but had added the island of Cephallenia to the demesnes of the republic. Thither he transported his troops, and now, being proconsul, made it the place of his residence, giving from thence law to all Greece. The consuls of this year performed nothing worthy of notice against the Gauls and Ligurians; but the new consuls, M. Æmilius Lepidus and C. Flaminius, reduced the Ligurians in one campaign^g. During their consulate the proconsul, Manlius, arrived at Rome. He halted in the neighbourhood of Rome, and demanded a triumph of the senate assembled in the temple of Bellona. His request met with great opposition: it was objected, that he had undertaken his expedition against the Galatians without the orders of the republic, and carried it on more like a robber than a Roman consul. But Manlius shewing that the Gauls had assisted Antiochus, a triumph was decreed him by a majority of votes^h.

Scipio Africanus is accused before the tribes.

Rome being now disengaged from all foreign wars, the most zealous republicans took pleasure in prosecuting the chief men in the state. They thought it perhaps a refined policy to humble those in times of peace whom they had exalted in times of war: Cato, who had always been a secret enemy to Scipio Africanus, resolved to effect the ruin of that great commander: with this view he engaged two tribunes of the people, to cite him before the tribes to answer to a charge of misdemeanor. One of the tribunes made it matter of accusation against him, that he had spent a whole winter in effeminacy at Syracuse, before he went into Africa; the other charged him with the pillage of Locri, and many violences which had been committed in that city by Pleminius, whom he had appointed governor of the place; but the chief article of impeachment imported, that he had received from Antiochus great sums to procure him an advantageous peace. The number of the accusers was so great, that the whole day was spent in their declamations; so that the trial was postponed for twenty-seven days. In the mean time the tribunes moved in the senate, that Scipio should be obliged to give an account of the spoils he had brought from Asia, and produce the book in which he had enumerated the sums he had received from Antiochus; and the senate complied with the motion. When the time came

^g Liv. lib. xxxix. cap. 1, 2.

^h Liv. lib. xxxviii. cap. 45, 46.

for determining the affair, it happened to be the same day of the year on which he had obtained the famous victory over Hannibal at Zama. Scipio brought his book of accorapts with him, and, having only shewed it to the people, he tore it in pieces before them, saying, "On this day Hannibal was conquered, and Carthage subdued: why then do we trifle it away in hearing idle declamations? The gods expect us at the Capitol: follow me, Romans; let us go thither, and jointly offer up our vows and thanksgivings." He had scarce uttered these words when the tribes began to move, and the whole assembly followed him; even the apparitores, and other officers, whose business it was to attend the tribunes, deserted them upon this occasion.

He was cited to appear a third time; and then he gave way to the storm, and retired to his country-house near Linternum, in the neighbourhood of Naples. The tribunes proceeded in order to condemn him as by default, though Lucius Scipio appeared, and alleged that his brother was sick. This outrage against such a venerable character raised the compassion even of his enemies. A tribune of the people, named Tib. Gracchus, though an avowed enemy to the Cornelian family, declared, that he thought Scipio Asiaticus ought to be believed concerning the sickness of his brother; and then proceeded to this effect: "If Scipio were at Rome, I would oppose his appearing to take his trial. What! shall the conqueror of Carthage appear at the foot of our tribunal, to be reviled there by an insolent populace? Did he conquer Hannibal and Antiochus to fall a sacrifice to the tribunes? Shall we pretend to triumph over a man who has been honoured with so many triumphs of the noblest kind? Let him at least find a safe retreat for his old age in the port to which he has retired for refuge. This unexpected declaration from an old enemy of the Scipios, had such an effect on the rest of the tribunes, that they dismissed the tribes, telling them, that they would consider maturely of the matter. Whether Scipio's sickness was feigned or real, we cannot determine; but it is certain, he died soon after, in the forty-eighth year of his age. He is said to have been so dissatisfied with the cowardice of the senate, the iniquity of the people, and the ingratitude of both, that, at his death, he desired his wife Æmilia, the daughter of Æmilius Paulus, who died so gloriously at the battle of Cannæ, not to carry his bones to Rome. She erected a mausoleum for him at Linternum, and there placed his statue, with that of the poet Ennius, who was probably

Is cited to appear, but retires; to Linternum.

Is defended by a tribune of the people.

Scipio Africanus dies at Linternum.

probably his faithful friend and the companion of his retreat. Such was the end of the greatest commander, and the most accomplished citizen, the republic had ever produced ^h.

Scipio Asiaticus is arraigned before the people;

The death of Scipio did not extinguish the hatred of the implacable Cato to the Cornelian family. He thought the great authority of the Scipios might prove dangerous to the republic, and therefore was resolved to humble them. The eyes of Africanus were scarce closed, when this fanatic republican directed his furious zeal against Asiaticus. He drew up a petition to the people, which was presented by the two Petilii, importing, that the tribes would solicit the senate to order an enquiry concerning what money had been received from Antiochus, and from the cities in his dominions. This petition was accepted, and a decree passed pursuant to it, with an additional clause, that an enquiry should be likewise made after the money received from the allies of Antiochus. Furius Purpureo, one of the ten commissioners, who had been sent into Asia to settle the conditions of peace with Antiochus, got this clause added, in order to include Manlius in the process, who was supposed to have received great sums from the Galatians. The person whom the faction depended upon was Terentius Culeo, at that time prætor, but a secret enemy to the Cornelian family, though he had been formerly delivered out of slavery in Africa by Scipio Africanus. Before this partial judge, Scipio Asiaticus was cited to appear, together with Aulus and Lucius Hostilius, two of his lieutenants, and C. Furius, his quæstor.

and Manlius.

Scipio fined;

The prætor, having heard the charge, and received the depositions, declared Scipio, Aulus, Hostilius, and Furius convicted of having received money from Antiochus. The prætor condemned them to pay large fines, and the two last immediately gave security; but Scipio still insisting on his having accounted with the republic for all the money he had brought from Asia, and refusing to give bail, the officers were ordered to carry him to prison; but then Scipio Nasica appealed from the prætor's sentence to the people. While he was pleading his cousin's cause, the prætor Culeo ordered the house of the accused to be searched, and his goods to be confiscated. But he did not find effects enough to pay the fine laid upon him;

and his effects confiscated.

^h Liv. lib. xxxviii. cap. 45—55. Appian. in Syriac. Aul. Gel. lib. iv. cap. 18. Val. Max. lib. iii. cap. 5. Plut. in Caton. & Grac.

and it was much to his justification, that, among all his moveables, not one thing was to be found, which could be judged to have been brought from Asia.

Gracchus, dissenting from the other tribunes, spoke with great eloquence in his favour. The multitude applauded what Gracchus said; truth seized their minds all at once, and changed their affections. However, the prætor would not repeal his decree; so that Scipio's effects remained confiscated, by which means he was reduced at once to a state of beggary. His relations and clients endeavoured to persuade him to accept of their presents; but he would receive nothing more than necessities. Rome afterwards acknowledged his innocence and merit, sent him ambassador to terminate some differences between Eumenes and Seleucus, and, upon his return, took pleasure to enrich him; insomuch that he was in a condition to celebrate games for his victory over Antiochus for ten days at his own expence. All the shame of his disgrace fell on the ungrateful Culeo, and the tribunes. As for Cato, who had kindled the fire, and disappeared when it began to blaze, he lost no reputation; and was soon after promoted to great honours. The Scipios, to express their gratitude to Gracchus, bestowed on him Cornelia, the younger daughter of the great Africanus, the elder being already married to Scipio Nasica¹.

Is reduced to beggary.

His innocence acknowledged.

The combats of the athletes introduced at Rome.

Before the consular year expired, the proconsul L. Fulvius Nobilior, being returned from Greece, obtained a triumph, but not without great opposition, for having reduced Ætolia. His triumphal procession was embellished with a great number of crowns of gold, a vast quantity of gold in ingots, and silver in bars, immense sums of Attic and Macedonian money, together with a multitude of marble and brass statues. His games were celebrated with the greatest magnificence. On this occasion the combats of the athletes were seen for the first time, in the arena at Rome, and the people were likewise entertained with the hunting of lions and panthers. The consulships of Sp. Posthumius Albinus and Q. Marcius Philippus were employed in making preparations for carrying on the war against the Spaniards and Ligurians, who began to move anew. In the following consulship of Appius Claudius Pulcher and M. Sempronius Tuditanus, the two new prætors, Quinctius and Calpurnius,

¹ Liv. lib. xxxviii. cap. 55—60. Plutarch. in Scip. & Gracch. Val. Antias apud Liv. lib. xxxix. cap. 22.

*The Roman arms
prosper in
Spain and
Liguria.*

fought two battles with the Lusitanians. In the first they were defeated, and lost five thousand men; but in the second they gained a victory, killed and took thirty thousand of the enemy, and quieted the country for some time^k. In Italy both consuls marched against the revolted Ligurians, over whom they gained several battles, took six cities, with a great number of prisoners, and punished with death forty-three ringleaders of the revolt^l.

*Cato cen-
sor,*

*His severe-
rity.*

*His hatred
to the Cor-
nelian fa-
mily.*

The campaign being ended, they returned to Rome, to hold the comitia for the great elections, in which P. Claudius Pulcher and L. Porcius Licinius were chosen chief magistrates for the new year. When the censors came to be elected, Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus were, by a great majority, preferred to Scipio Asiaticus, and other men who had done the republic eminent services. The censors immediately drew up a new list of the senators, and degraded seven of that illustrious body, among whom was Quinctius, the brother of Flaminius, for having killed with his own hand, when he commanded in Cisalpine Gaul, a Boian nobleman, who fled to him for protection. This treacherous murder he had committed only to gratify the curiosity of a young Carthaginian, for whom he had conceived an execrable passion, the infamous pathic expressing a desire to see a man die a violent death. Manlius, or, as others call him, Manilius, was degraded, and his name struck out of the list of the senators, only for having saluted his wife in the presence of his daughters. Scipio Asiaticus, since his disgrace, had been made a Roman knight; but the rigid censor, from an inveterate hatred to the Cornelian family, took away, upon what pretence is not known, the horse which the public maintained for him; so that the conqueror of Antiochus was now reduced to the condition of the poorest plebeian. The rigid censor executed his office with great severity. He laid a heavy tax on rich furniture, jewels, and all superfluities; and, by such popular acts, made himself so acceptable to the people, that they erected a statue to him in the Temple of Health. After the expiration of his censorship, he spent the rest of his days in a private life.

He found sufficient exercise for his philosophy in his own family, his wife, who was of a high birth, being very expensive and ill-tempered. He took upon himself the education of his only son, whom he would not suffer to be

^k Liv. lib. xxxix. cap. 30, 31.

^l Idem ibid. cap. 32.

taught the learning of the Greeks, saying, that the only study of a Roman ought to be, how to conquer, and how to govern conquered nations. He was a great soldier, an able statesman, an eloquent orator, a learned historian, and well skilled in rural affairs; but these accomplishments were counterbalanced by great defects; he was extravagantly severe, jealous of the merit of others, and ambitious to a high degree. As a private person, he lived frugally; but it was only to lay up money. He used to say to his son, that no man deserved any esteem till he had doubled his fortune. In public he was ever extolling continence; but in private was familiar with a beautiful slave. To revenge himself on his son and daughter-in-law, he married a second time in his old age; and, when his son asked him by what act of disrespect he had incurred his displeasure, he replied, "I have no manner of complaint to make against you; your conduct is so prudent, that I am resolved to have other children like you." As his merit and virtues were known, and his vices concealed, he acquired the esteem of the multitude; so that, though four-and-forty times accused before the people, he was always acquitted^m.

His character.

The following consulate of Q. Fabius Labeo, and M. Claudius Marcellus was remarkable for the death of two famous men; Philipœmen, of whom we have spoken in the history of the Achæans; and Hannibal, who, persecuted by the Romans, had taken refuge in the court of Prusias king of Bithynia, as we have related in the history of Bithynia.

The death of Philipœmen, and of Hannibal.

The following year, when L. Æmilius Paulus and Cn. Bebius Tarnphilus were consuls, proved barren of great events. But the consulate of P. Cornelius Cethegus and M. Bebius Tarnphilus was remarkable for considerable victories gained by the Roman armies in Spain and Liguria, and for the suppression of a revolt in Sardinia. The same year a stop was put to immoderate expences in feasts and entertainments. At the motion of Orctus, a tribune of the people, it was enacted, that no man should spend more than one hundred ascs of brass, that is, six shillings and five pence, at an entertainment; and the number of guests was likewise limited. In the succeeding consulate of A. Posthumius Albinus and C. Calpurnius Piso, the proconsul Paulus Æmilius defeated the Ligurians, and reduced the whole country of the Ingauni. Q. Fulvius

The Ingauni reduced.

^m Plut. in Caton. Liv. lib. xxxix, cap. 42—52.

The Celtiberians defeated.

Flaccus, the prætor of Hither Spain, was attended with equal success against the Celtiberians, whom he defeated, killed twenty-five thousand of them on the spot, made four thousand eight hundred prisoners of war, and took above five hundred horses, and ninety-eight standards^a. This same year Gentius, one of the kings of Illyricum, who had countenanced some piracies in the Adriatic, made his submissions to the senate, and was pardoned^c. The consuls were both honoured with a triumph (B).

The Ligurians and Celtiberians defeated.

The next consuls were A. Posthumius Albinus and C. Calpurnius Piso. Several considerable advantages were gained this year over the Ligurians and Spaniards^a. When the time for the new elections came, two brothers, the first instance of this kind, were promoted to the consular dignity, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who had lately triumphed for his victories in Spain, and L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus. The latter was called Manlius, because he had been adopted into the Manlian family. Both consuls marched against the Ligurians. Manlius performed no memorable exploits; but Fulvius, who was a great foldier, defeated the Ligurians, killed three thousand two hundred of them, and forced the rest to leave their mountains, and settle in the flat country. In Spain the prætors Sempronius and Albinus made themselves masters of Munda and Certima, two important places belonging to the Celtiberians, over whom they gained several considerable victories. Sempronius is said to have killed near forty thousand of the Vaccæi and Lusitani; and Albinus to have destroyed about the same number of Celtiberians. They were both honoured with a triumph^c.

In Italy, M. Junius Brutus and A. Manlius Vulso being consuls, the latter, without any orders from the senate or people, marched against the Illyrians and Istrians commanded by Gentius their king. The consul was shamefully surpris'd in his camp, and driven out of it; but he

^a Liv lib. xl. cap. 25—34.
ibid. cap. 38—41.

^c Idem ibid. cap. 42.
¹ Liv. lib. xl. cap. 47.

^p Idem

(B) Before the consular year was expired, the famous plebiscitum was published, called the Villian law, from Villius Tappulus, tribune of the people, who got it passed in the comitia. It enacted, that no man should be quæstor before he was one-and-thirty years of age, curule ædile before thirty-seven, prætor before forty, consul before forty-three. This law continued in force till the fall of the republic (1).

(1) Liv. lib. xl. cap. 43. Cic. Philip. ii.

soon

soon after recovered it again, and killed eight thousand of the enemy, while they were drunk with the wine they had found in his quarters. Notwithstanding this victory, the war was not finished before the succeeding consulship of C. Claudius Pulcher and Tib. Sempronius Gracchus. Claudius, by taking three towns, Nefattium, Mutila, and Faveria, brought the whole Istrian nation under subjection to Rome^p. The consul Sempronius maintained in Sardinia and Corsica the glory he had acquired in Celtiberia: he either took or killed twenty thousand of the rebels, and was on that account honoured with a triumph.

Istria reduced.

The consul Claudius, having subdued Istria, led his forces into Liguria, where he gained a victory over the rebels. He then returned to Rome, to preside in the comitia, when Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispalis and Q. Petilius Spurius were chosen consuls; but the former dying soon after of an apoplectic fit, C. Valerius Lævinus was elected in his stead. Petilius, jealous of the glory which Claudius gained in Liguria, where he acted as proconsul, hastened thither, and took upon him the command of the army; but having attempted to force the Ligurian entrenchments, he was thrust through with a javelin, and killed. The Romans, though deprived of their general, gained a considerable victory, and killed above five thousand of the enemy, after they had made themselves masters of their camp^q. The two following years were barren of military exploits. In the first, P. Mucius Scævola and M. Æmilius Lepidus were consuls; and, in the second, Sp. Posthumius Albinus and Q. Mucius Scævola. During the consulship of the latter, the streets of Rome were paved for the first time. L. Posthumius Albinus and M. Popilius Lænas being chosen consuls for the new year, the latter marched against the Stelliates, a people in Liguria, bordering on the river Tanarus; and in a sharp conflict, which lasted three hours, killed ten thousand of them, and took seven thousand prisoners, besides eighty-two standards. After this defeat, the Stelliates, finding the forces of their nation reduced to ten thousand men, submitted to the consul, without stipulating any terms. Popilius took away their arms, dismantled their cities, reduced them all to slavery, and sold them and their goods, to the best bidder; but this severity was disapproved by the senate, and a decree passed, commanding

The Ligurians defeated.

The Stelliates subdued.

The equity of the Roman senate.

^p Liv. lib. xli. cap. 1—6.

^q Liv. lib. xli. cap. 18.

Popilius to restore the money he had received for the sale of the Stellites, to set them at liberty, restore their effects, and even to purchase new arms for them. The senate concluded their decree with words which posterity ought never to forget: "Victory is glorious when it is confined to the subduing of an untractable enemy; but it becomes shameful when it is made use of to oppress the unfortunate".²

Two plebeians chosen consuls.

In the following year the Romans promoted for the first time two plebeians to the consulate, P. Acilius Ligus, and C. Popilius Lænas. From this period to the dictatorship of Julius Cæsar, nothing was more common than to see two plebeian consuls together. In the present consulate, war was declared against Perſes, king of Macedon, and carried on with that success which we have related elsewhere, during the administration of the following consuls, P. Licinius Crassus, C. Cassius Longinus, A. Hostilius Mancinus, A. Attilius Seranus, Q. Marcius Philippus, Cn. Servilius Cæpio, Paulus Æmilius, Licinius Crassus. Perſes was utterly defeated by the consul Paulus in the famous battle of Pydna; and, in the following consulate of Q. Ælius Pætus and M. Junius Pennus, the kingdoms of Macedon and Illyricum were changed into republics.

Paulus Æmilius dies.

The following year, when C. Sulpitius Gallus and M. Claudius Marcellus were consuls, proved barren of memorable events. In the succeeding consulship of T. Manlius Torquatus and Cn. Octavius Nepos, Terence, the famous dramatic poet, was in his highest reputation. The saces were afterwards transferred to A. Manlius Torquatus and Q. Cassius Longinus; during whose administration a census was made, by which there appeared to be in Rome three hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred and fifty-two citizens fit to bear arms. Paulus Æmilius, who was at this time one of the censors, soon after the expiration of his censorship, fell sick of a lingering disease, which carried him off. Notwithstanding the prodigious sums with which he had filled the treasury of the republic, he continued poor, and, after his triumph, led a private life. In the height of his glory, his two sons, by a second marriage, died, the elder five days before his triumph, and the younger three days after it.³

² Liv. lib. xlii. cap. 3.
³ ibid.

⁴ Plut. in Paulo Æmil. Liv.

Tib. Sempronius Gracchus and M. Juventius Thalna being raised to the consulate, the latter was obliged to sail with an army into Corsica to quell a rebellion there; while the other marched against the Ligurians, who had again taken arms. During this consulate, Antiochus Epiphanes died, and was succeeded by his son Antiochus Eupator, who was but nine years old. Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, the late king's elder brother, had an indisputable right to the crown of Syria; but the Romans, thinking it more for their interest to have a child upon the throne, excluded Demetrius, who had been twelve years an hostage at Rome; and, without the consent or privy of the Syrians, declared young Antiochus the ward of the republic. They appointed Cn. Octavius, and two other Roman senators, to govern, as his guardians, the kingdom of Syria, in the name and under the direction of the Roman commonwealth. Nor were they satisfied with doing this injustice to Demetrius; they gave instructions to Octavius, and his colleagues, to burn all the ships belonging to their ward, disable his elephants, and, in a word, to weaken as much as possible the forces of his kingdom. In the following consulship of P. Cornelius Lentulus and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, Octavius set out for Syria; and, arriving at Laodicea, a maritime city between Tripolis and Antioch, began to put the severe orders of his republic in execution, under pretence, that, in virtue of the treaty with Antiochus the Great, the Syrians were to build no more ships of war, nor tame any more elephants. The Syrians were highly exasperated at this presumption, especially Lyfias, the young king's guardian, who, being encouraged by the rage of the people against Octavius, hired an African to assassinate him. When the news of his murder reached Rome, Demetrius, who was still there, applied once more to the senate for leave to take possession of the kingdom which of right belonged to him; but being a second time refused, by the advice of his friend Polybius the historian, he made his escape from Italy, got safe into Syria, and was there received and proclaimed king, as we have related in the history of Syria. The year following, when M. Valerius Messala, and C. Fannius Strabo were consuls, the new king of Syria, to ingratiate himself with the Romans, sent an embassy to Rome, with a rich present of a crown of gold; and at the same time delivered up the African who had murdered Octavius. The senate accepted the present, but sent back the assassin, telling the

The Romans declare the young king of Syria their ward.

Yr. of Fl.
2185.
Ante Chr.
163.
U. C. 585.

Cn. Octavius assassinated.

deputies, that such a victim was not an adequate satisfaction to the republic for the affront she had received ^t.

The Romans enter into an alliance with the Jews.

The consuls for the new year, L. Anicius Gallus and M. Cornelius Cethegus, went rather to encamp than make war, one in Liguria, the other in Cisalpine Gaul. During their administration, the Romans entered into a treaty of confederacy with the Jews. Of the two consuls for this year, Cethegus gained some reputation by drying up the Pomptine marshes, which infected the air of the whole neighbourhood, and reducing them to a fruitful plain, which, however, was drowned again by fresh inundations. The following consuls, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius Nobilior, signalized themselves yet less in their administration. In the consulate of their successors, M. Æmilius Lepidus, and C. Popilius Lænas, Demetrius drove Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, from the throne, for refusing to marry his sister; and bestowed it upon Orofernes, a supposititious son of the late Cappadocian king. Ariarathes fled to Rome for refuge, and pleaded his cause before the senate. But the Romans, pursuant to their common maxims of policy, ordered the kingdom to be divided between the two competitors ^u. Next year, when Sextius Julius Cæsar, and L. Aurelius Orestes were consuls, the Dalmatians, who bordered upon Illyricum, made incursions, and committed great robberies there, though it was a country tributary to the republic. As they would scarce give audience to Fannius, the Roman ambassador, who was ordered to complain of these proceedings, and demand satisfaction, the senate, upon the report which Fannius made of the haughty treatment he had met with, resolved to begin a war with Dalmatia.

The first occasion of the third Punic war

Another embassy, sent into Africa, at the head of which was Cato the censor, paved the way for the third Punic war. Masinissa had invaded Tysca, a rich province belonging to the Carthaginians; and the dispute being referred to the arbitration of the senate, ten commissioners were ordered to go into Africa, and determine it upon the spot. When Cato and his colleagues arrived, the Carthaginians refused to accept them for judges, saying, that Scipio had settled their limits by a treaty of peace; and that to alter his appointments would be to reflect on the memory of the greatest of men. This declaration

^t Polyb. Legat. 114—120. Appian. in Syriac. Justin, lib. xxxiv.
^u Polyb. in Legat. 126. Diod. Sic. Eclog. lib. xxxi.

provoked

provoked the pride of Cato to the highest degree: however, he dissembled his resentment; and, leaving Tylca a prey to Masinissa's troops, went to Carthage, and there examined every thing with a malicious eye. When he returned to Rome, he reported, that Carthage was grown immensely rich, that her magazines were crowded with stores, her ports full of ships, and that the war she was making with Masinissa was only an introduction to a more important quarrel with Rome. He concluded, with a warm exhortation to the senate to lose no time, but immediately to send troops, with orders utterly to destroy a city, which would ever be an obstacle to the progress of the Roman arms. From this time he was always inciting the fathers to destroy Carthage. When he gave his opinion in the senate, whatever was the subject, he never failed to conclude with these words; "I am also of opinion that Carthage should be destroyed:" but Scipio Nasica, who, after the death of Paulus Æmilius, had the chief sway in the senate, constantly opposed the too rigid censor in this particular ^w.

The two succeeding consuls, C. Martius Figulus and L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, prevailed upon the senate to declare war against the Dalmatians, the conduct of which was committed to the former, who, crossing the Adriatic, landed in Illyricum, and marched thence against the enemy. The Dalmatians, who were a savage, but brave people, surprised and defeated the consul. Scipio Nasica, who was raised to the consulate the next year, with C. Claudius Marcellus, being appointed to continue the war, laid siege to Delminium, the metropolis of Dalmatia, made himself master of it, and in one campaign brought the whole country under subjection. His colleague Marcellus gained likewise some advantages over the Ligurians ^x.

War against the Dalmatians.

Dalmatia conquered.

The republic having chosen Q. Opimius Nepos and L. Posthumus Albinus consuls, the latter repaired to Spain, and the former to Transalpine Gaul. The avarice and extortion of the Roman prætors in Spain had caused almost a general revolt in that country. The legion commanded by the prætor Calpurnius Piso had been defeated by the Lusitanians, and that officer, with his quæstor Terentius Varro, had been killed in the battle. Posthumus was therefore ordered to retrieve the Roman affairs in that pro-

Yr. of Fl.
2193.
Ante Chr.
155.
U. C. 593.

The Spaniards revolt.

^w Appian. in Pun. p. 37.
Liv. in Epit.

^x Appian. in Illyric. 761.

The Romans penetrate into Transalpine Gaul.

vince: but his wife having given him, before he left Rome, a slow poison, he was taken so ill at sea, that he could not bear the motion of the ship, and was brought back to Rome, where he died in seven days after his return. Acilius Glabrio, chosen consul in his room, was not sent into Spain, the senate not judging him qualified to undertake the re-establishment of their affairs in that country. The consul Opimius penetrated into Transalpine Gaul to assist the inhabitants of Marseilles, the old friends of Rome, against the Ligurians, who had taken from them two cities, Nicæa and Antipolis. He defeated not only the Ligurians, but also the Deceatæ, who came to their assistance; and reduced their whole country, which comprehended the present territories of Antibes and Grasse. This was the first conquest the Romans made beyond the Alps.

The consuls begin to enter on their office the first of January.

It had been long customary for the consuls not to enter upon their office till the ides or fifteenth of March; but this year the necessity of sending a consul into Spain made the Romans assemble the comitia for the elections before the usual time. Q. Fulvius Nobilior and T. Annius Luscus were promoted to the consulate, and entered upon their office the first day of January, their predecessors abdicating to make way for them. From this time to the end of the republic, the first of January was always the day for the consuls to take possession of the fasces. The election being over, Fulvius was sent with a considerable army into Spain, above half that country being in confusion. The consul landed at Tarracon, and from thence marched against the Segedani and Aravacæ, who had united their forces to the number of twenty-five thousand men, under the command of a brave general named Caras. He, having laid an ambush for the consul in a wood, surprised him, and killed six thousand of his legionaries; but pursuing the fugitives with too much ardor into the plain, he was there attacked by the Roman horse, and killed, with a great slaughter of his men. The battle was fought on the feast of Vulcan, a day which the republic ordered to be ever after deemed unlucky, like those on which she had lost the battles of Allia and Cannæ. The Spaniards, having assembled their forces near Numantia, and chosen two new leaders, hazarded a second engagement with the Romans; but were defeated by means of some elephants sent by Masinissa.

Various success of the Roman arms.

After this victory, the consul attempted to scale the walls of Numantia, whither the enemy had retired; but one of his elephants being wounded, the hideous noise it made so frightened the others, that they turned upon the Roman legions, and put them into disorder. The besieged took advantage of the accident, sallied out, and totally defeated the consul's troops. Fulvius, after this, and some other disasters that followed it, not daring to separate his troops, even during the winter, encamped in the field; and the season proving very severe, great numbers of his men perished with cold, want, and fatigue. The campaign which the Roman prætor Mummius made in Lusitania, was not much more successful. Immediately after his arrival he offered the rebels battle, which they did not decline, being commanded by Cæsar, a Lusitanian of great courage and experience in war. The Lusitanians, after a vigorous resistance, were put to flight; but the Romans pursuing them in disorder, they rallied again, returned to the charge, killed nine thousand of the prætor's troops, took his camp, and plundered it. The Roman army, now reduced to five thousand men, waited in an advantageous post for an opportunity of retrieving their reputation. They soon after gained some small advantage over the enemy, cut a detachment of Lusitanians in pieces, and recovered the Roman standards².

The consul's troops defeated.

The Roman arms unsuccessful.

The consuls for the new year, M. Claudius Marcellus and L. Valerius Flaccus, no sooner entered upon their office than the former set out for Spain with eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse. On his arrival he was attacked by the enemy; but Marcellus, who was an officer of great experience, put them to flight, made a great slaughter of the fugitives, and committed ravages in their country. The rebels, dispirited by these disasters, sent one of their chief officers to sue for peace, which Marcellus readily granted them upon reasonable terms. The consul was desirous of settling a general peace with Spain before his consulship expired, that he might be honoured with a triumph on his return to Rome. But the senate perceiving his design, and being dissuaded from ratifying the peace by deputies sent from two provinces in alliance with the Romans, they not only refused to ratify the articles agreed upon between the consul and the rebels, but resolved to pursue the war with more vigour than ever³.

Marcellus gains great advantages.

² Appian. in Iberic. 286. Strab. lib. iii. 141. Appian. in Iberic. 282. 287.

³ Polyb. Legat.

*Carthage
provokes
the Ro-
mans.*

Mean while, every thing tended to a rupture in Africa. The Carthaginians, harassed by the invasions of Masinissa, and tired with the injustice and partiality of the Roman republic, entered into an alliance with Archobazanes, the grandson of Syphax, king of one part of Numidia, engaging him to march with a great army to the frontiers of Masinissa's dominions. Rome looked upon this step as a breach of the treaties between her and the states of Africa, none of which were to take arms without her privity and consent. Cato, on this occasion, displayed his hatred to the Carthaginians, and was for immediately declaring war against that republic; but Scipio Nasica prevailed upon the fathers to defer taking any such resolution, till an embassy should be sent to Carthage, to examine, without passion, into the true state of affairs. Nasica himself was appointed ambassador for the negotiation he had proposed. When he arrived in Africa, he conducted himself with great prudence and moderation; and taking upon him the office of mediator between Carthage and Masinissa, prevailed on the latter to restore the lands which had occasioned the quarrel. Thus all commotions would have been quieted, had not a seditious Carthaginian, named Gisico, a man in office and favour with the people, spoken in the public assemblies with great warmth against the peace, which had been just negotiated: he, by his seditious harangues, so inflamed the populace, that they would have offered violence to Nasica, if he had not saved himself by flight. Upon his retreat, those in the senate of Carthage, to the number of forty, who had approved the peace, were condemned to perpetual banishment. The Roman senate was highly incensed at the treatment their ambassador had met with, and Cato much rejoiced to find Nasica at his return agree with him thus far, that Carthage deserved to be destroyed. However, the vengeance of the republic was suspended for some time on account of the war with the revolted Spaniards^b.

*Scipio Na-
sica sent
into Africa.*

*Saves him-
self by
flight.*

*The citi-
zens refuse
to fight.*

When the new consuls, L. Licinius Lucullus and A. Posthumius Albinus, were ordered to recruit the legions in Spain, none of the citizens would give in their names, protesting, that they would not serve under the consul to whose lot Spain should fall, even in quality of lieutenants, or legionary tribunes. The accounts they had received of the hardships which the troops under Fulvius had suffered, by passing the whole winter in the field, discouraged them.

^b Appian. in Punic. Plut. in Catone. Liv. in Epit.

to such a degree, that not one of the Roman youth appeared as a volunteer. To increase the misfortune, the tribunes of the people protected those who refused to enlist themselves, and even ordered the consuls to be carried to prison for forcing some young men into the service. While the senate and consuls were perplexed what methods to take, a young Roman, not above thirty years of age, extricated them from their difficulties. This was Scipio Æmilianus, the son of Paulus Æmilius, and by adoption the grandson of Scipio Africanus. When the people were assembled for the enrolments, he desired leave to speak to them; which being granted, he mounted the rostra, and made an harangue full of the true Roman spirit. The ardor he expressed for the service of his country, and his offering to go himself into Spain, in what capacity soever the consuls should think fit, had such an effect on the people, that they were now as eager as they had before been backward to give in their names. Then the consuls drew lots for their provinces, where Spain fell to Lucullus, and Cisalpine Gaul to Posthumius. It is uncertain whether Scipio Æmilianus served under Lucullus as one of his lieutenants, or only as a legionary tribune; but, whatever was his post, he gained all the glory that was acquired during the war. Lucullus, who commanded in Hither Spain, and the prætor Sulpitius Galba, who acted in Lusitania, made themselves infamous by the basest treachery, cruelty, and avarice.

*but are
persuaded
by Scipio
Æmilianus
to give in
their
names.*

*The cruelty
of the Ro-
mans in
Spain.*

The former, finding that his predecessor had granted the Celtiberians a peace, went, unauthorized, to make war on the Turduli and Cantabri. These had not given the Romans the least provocation; but Lucullus, who was covetous to excess, wanted to reap some profits by his consulship. With this view he entered their territories, and committed most dreadful ravages, putting the inhabitants of whole cities to the sword, without distinction of age or sex, even after they had submitted upon terms. Æmilianus, on this occasion, acquired a high reputation of probity even among the oppressed Spaniards; and, as for his bravery, he had not only slew in single combat a Spaniard of a gigantic size, who had challenged the boldest of the Romans, but was honoured with a mural and civic crown. Lucullus soon after sent him, probably out of jealousy, into Numidia, under pretence of demanding some elephants of Masinissa^c.

^c Appian in Iberic. Vel. Patercul.

The Lusitanians treated with great cruelty by Galba.

The prætor Galba, as covetous as Lucullus, and more cruel, penetrated into Lusitania, destroyed every thing with fire and sword, and glutted himself with the spoils of those unhappy people. We are told, that he barbarously massacred above thirty thousand Lusitanians, after he had solemnly promised them both life and liberty, and by that promise prevailed upon them to deliver up their arms. Neither the consul Lucullus, nor the prætor Galba, were accused before the senate or people for these unjust and inhuman proceedings. The Romans were so prejudiced against the Spaniards, that they seem to have authorized the cruelties and injustice of their generals^d.

The senate informed of the preparations for war at Carthage.

In the mean time Gulusa, the son of Masinissa, arriving at Rome, confirmed the accounts which the senate had received from several quarters, that preparations were making at Carthage for an open declaration of war with the republic. Cato immediately embraced this occasion to repeat the words he had so often uttered: "There is no safety for Rome till Carthage is destroyed." The advice of Scipio Nasica still prevailed; and at his motion deputies were sent into Africa, to inform themselves, upon the spot, of the Carthaginian preparations. The deputies, on their return, reported that Carthage had undoubtedly a design to make war in some other place than the continent of Africa; that her fleet was numerous and well equipped; and that she had on foot a formidable army. Notwithstanding these appearances, and all the eloquence of Cato, Nasica had influence enough over the senate to suspend the decree against the Carthaginians^e.

A war between Carthage and Masinissa.

In the following consulate of T. Quinctius Flaminius and M. Acilius Balbus, a war broke out between Carthage and Masinissa. The Numidian king, though now near ninety years of age, to revenge an affront offered by the Carthaginians to his two sons, Gulusa and Micipsa, put himself at the head of a powerful army, and laid siege to Oroscopa, a city subject to the Carthaginian republic. Carthage sent a considerable number of troops, under the command of Asdrubal, to relieve the place. In several skirmishes the Numidians had always the disadvantage. Masinissa, who had learnt the art of war under the great Scipio, retired before the enemy, and, by degrees, drew them into a place where he had all the advantage he could wish for. Here he halted with a design to give the enemy battle. While he was preparing for a general engagement, Scipio Æmilianus, who had been

^d Appian *ibid.*

^e Appian in *Punic.*

sent

sent by the consul Lucullus from Spain, to ask some elephants from Masinissa, arrived at the camp; but next morning, when the battle was fought, he retired from the camp, not thinking it lawful for him, as Rome had not yet openly broke with Carthage, to have any share in the action. He therefore posted himself on the top of an eminence, whence he saw very distinctly, one of the greatest battles that had ever been fought in Africa. It lasted from the rising of the sun till night; both parties performed great exploits, and the victory was long in suspense, but at length declared for Masinissa. Then Æmilianus came down from his eminence, returned to the camp of the conqueror, and congratulated him on his victory. Masinissa, on this joyful occasion, gave the Roman the sincerest proofs of an inviolable attachment to his republic, and granted him the elephants he demanded †.

The Carthaginians defeated by Masinissa.

As this victory was not decisive, Æmilianus undertook to negotiate a peace between the two parties; but his mediation proving ineffectual, hostilities were renewed with more animosity than ever. After many slight battles, Masinissa so blocked up the Carthaginian camp, that no convoys could be brought to it, or detachments sent out, without great difficulty. The Carthaginian army, which was very numerous, having now no communication with the country, was soon reduced to the last extremity. At first they lived upon the flesh of their horses, and then boiled the harnesses of their carriages, burning their bucklers, and the shafts of their spears, for want of wood. The famine produced a plague, which carried off more men than they had lost in all the engagements. In this extremity Asdrubal yielded to the conditions of peace which the Numidian thought fit to impose. Among other things, Masinissa obliged all the Carthaginians to pass under the yoke, unarmed, and half-naked. These unhappy persons, thus branded with ignominy, and so weak that they could scarce stand, comforted themselves with hopes of seeing their native country again.

The Carthaginian army distressed by Masinissa.

But revenge inspired Gulussa with a very cruel resolution. The Carthaginians had formerly laid an ambush to surprise him, and his brother Micipsa, on their return from Carthage to Numidia; and, falling on them, had, on that occasion, killed some of their attendants. This outrage Gulussa remembered; and, to revenge one perfidious act with another, let loose the Numidian horse on

The Carthaginians treacherously massacred by Gulussa.

† Appian, in Punic.

the disarmed multitude. Whether Masinissa was privy to his son's treachery was never known, but the Numidian horse, coming up with those miserable men, who being exhausted with hunger and distempers, had neither courage to resist, nor strength to fly, butchered them like so many victims; so that of fifty-eight thousand men, only Asdrubal, and some other officers of distinction, escaped the general massacre. The Romans had sent ambassadors into Africa, under pretence of putting an end to the differences between Carthage and Numidia in an amicable manner; but they had private instructions to take upon them the office of mediators, only in case Masinissa was defeated. If that prince should happen to get the better, their directions were to encourage him to push the Carthaginians to the utmost extremity. These they punctually obeyed; then, taking advantage of the prodigious loss the Carthaginians had sustained, deferred no longer to declare war against them, though they sent an embassy to Rome, offering submission, and even leaving it to the senators to propose their own terms.

Yr. of Fl.

2199.

Ante Chr.

149.

U. C. 599.

*The third
Punic war.*

*The Car-
thaginians
yield them-
selves and
their domi-
nions to the
Romans.*

When the new consuls, L. Marcius Censorinus and M. Manilius Nepos, entered upon their office, they caused the war with Carthage to be proclaimed in the comitia of the people; and then drew lots for their provinces, the command of the fleet falling to Marcius, and that of the land-forces to Manilius. When all things were ready for their expedition into Africa, ambassadors arrived at Rome from the people of Utica, offering to surrender up their city to the republic, and desiring to be admitted into an alliance with Rome. The Carthaginians, terrified at the defection of so powerful a city, and the great preparations making at Rome, resolved to avert the impending storm, by yielding themselves and their dominions to the Romans by way of dedition; in other words, giving them an absolute authority over every thing in the country, their cities, lands, rivers, temples, &c. and likewise over all the inhabitants, of whatever rank, sex, or condition. The ambassadors who came to Rome to make this surrender were well received by the senate, and told, that since they had done all that could be required of them, they should enjoy their lands, effects, laws, and liberty, as before, upon condition, that they sent three hundred hostages to the consuls, who were now in Sicily, and put in execution what they should think fit to command them.

§ Apian. in Punic.

The

The ambassadors, overjoyed at this unexpected success, took their leave of the senate, and flew to Carthage with the good news. Most of the Carthaginian senators praised the moderation of the Romans; but some began to suspect that Rome concealed some artifice under this appearance of clemency. However, a decree passed, commanding three hundred hostages to be sent to Lilybæum, where the Roman fleet lay at anchor. The consuls having sent them on board a squadron to Italy, immediately set sail for Utica, and there landed their troops, to the number of seventy-four thousand men, horse and foot ^a.

The Romans pass into Africa.

When the troops were landed, Manilius went to take possession of the ground on which the great Scipio had encamped when he invested Carthage. It is easy to judge of the consternation the Carthaginians were in, when they beheld so powerful an army in their neighbourhood, and were informed that war had been declared against them, notwithstanding the submissions they had made. They sent deputies to the consuls to expostulate with them, and to learn their intentions. The Roman generals received them with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. They ordered all their soldiers to stand to their arms: the deputies passed through two long lines of men drawn up on each side of them, with colours flying: and were conducted by the sound of military instruments from the gate of the camp to the consul's quarters. There the two colleagues received them, sitting upon two high thrones, and surrounded by their chief officers, who were divided from the croud by a bar, within which the ambassadors themselves were not suffered to enter. When the noise of the trumpets ceased, the head of the embassy made a speech, in which he complained of Rome for sending an army into Africa after the Carthaginians had delivered up their estates, lands, and possessions to the Roman senate, at discretion. In the close of his speech he desired the consuls, in a most submissive manner, to acquaint him with the real intentions of the senate.

Ambassadors sent from Carthage to the Roman camp.

Their speech.

Marcus answered, that he would gradually communicate to them the orders he had received, beginning with that which required most dispatch; and then added, "Since you are under the protection of Rome, and sincerely desire peace, what occasion have you for that number of arms with which your magazines are filled?"

The consul's answer.

^a Appian. in Punic. Polyb. Legat. cap. 142. Diod. Sic. apud Fulv. Ursin.

Bring them hither, and thereby give us a fresh proof that your love of peace is not feigned." The ambassadors, stunned at this demand, knew not, at first, what to answer; but at length recollecting themselves, remonstrated to the consul, that Carthage had other enemies to contend with besides the Romans; and therefore could not safely be without arms; that she was in danger of being attacked by Asdrubal, who, being condemned to die for having offended Rome by his late war with Masinissa, had made his escape, and drawn together an army of twenty thousand men. To this remonstrance the consul replied, "Be easy, Carthaginians: Rome will provide for your safety. Obey, and be in no concern about any thing else." What could they do but submit? Carthage wanted the necessary store of provisions to sustain a siege, and had neither auxiliaries nor mercenaries; all the flower of her youth had been destroyed in the late battle with Masinissa; her fleet was not fitted out, and that of the Romans, which was more numerous, blocked up the harbour.

They deliver up their arms to the Romans.

The Carthaginians, therefore, without any fraud, delivered up their arms and engines of war to the Roman quaestors, sent to Carthage to receive them. The Romans were surprised when they saw the long train of carts, loaded with arms, which were brought to the camp by the Carthaginians themselves. Some historians say, they were sufficient to have armed all Africa. At least it is certain, that there were put into the consuls' hands two thousand catapultæ, two hundred thousand complete suits of armour, and an infinite number of swords, darts, javelins, arrows, and of beams armed with iron, which were thrown from the ramparts by the balistæ. This convoy of arms was attended by the most venerable old men, and the priests in their sacred attire, who were well qualified by their character and age to mollify the Romans. The consuls received them sitting on their tribunal; and Marius, who had more eloquence than his colleague, putting on a serious and majestic air, addressed himself to them thus: "We are well pleased with these first instances of your obedience, and therefore cannot help congratulating you upon them. I have now but one thing more to require of you in the name of the Roman people: I will, therefore, plainly declare to you an order, on which the safety of your republic, the preservation of your goods, your lives, and liberty, depends. Rome requires that you abandon your city, which we are commanded to level with the ground. You may build another where you please,

please, provided it be ten miles from the sea, and without walls or fortifications. A little resolution will get the better of the affection which attaches us to our old habitations, and is founded more in habit than in reason." At these words the Carthaginian deputies were thunderstruck. Some of them swooned away; others expressed their sorrow in cries and lamentations; and all were in the utmost consternation. Even the Roman soldiers were affected with so moving a sight; but the consuls, without shewing the least concern, "These sudden fits (said they) wear off by degrees; time and necessity teach the most unfortunate to bear their calamities with patience. The Carthaginians, when they recover their senses, will choose to obey."

The Roman consuls command the Carthaginians to demolish their city.

While the others, in the first transports of their grief, and despair, uttered imprecations against the Romans, one Hanno, a venerable old man, and more composed than the rest, endeavoured in a speech to move the consuls to compassion, and concluded, by earnestly intreating them at least to allow the Carthaginians time to make fresh applications to the senate of Rome: but the consuls would neither recede from the sentence they had passed, nor suspend the execution of it. The deputies returned to Carthage, and made their report; and then the city was filled with horror and confusion. The people broke into the senate-house, and vented their rage on those who had advised the giving hostages, and delivering up the arms which they now wanted for their defence. They did not spare even the deputies themselves; but dragged them through the streets with ignominy, as inauspicious messengers. However a few, less transported than the rest, acted with some appearance of reason; they took care to shut the gates of the city, and gathered together on the ramparts great heaps of stones to serve them instead of arms, in case of a surprize.

Great commotions in Carthage.

When the first commotion was abated, the senators assembled, and resolved to sustain a siege. They were stripped of their arms, and destitute of provisions; but despair raised their courage, and made them find out expedients. They began with taking the malefactors out of prison, giving the slaves their liberty, and incorporating them in the militia. Then a pardon was granted to Asdrubal, who had been sentenced to die only to please the Romans; and he was invited to employ the twenty thousand men he had raised in the defence of his country. Another Asdrubal was appointed to command in Carthage; and all seemed resolute, either to save their city or

The Carthaginians resolve to sustain a siege.

Their surprising activity.

perish in its ruins. By order of the senate, the temples, porticoes, and all public buildings, were turned into work-houses, where men and women were continually employed in making arms. As they lost no time in procuring to themselves the necessaries of life, which were brought to them at stated hours, they every day made a hundred and forty-four bucklers, three hundred swords, a thousand darts, and five hundred lances and javelins. As to balistæ and catapultæ, they wanted proper materials for them; but their industry supplied that defect. Where iron and brass were wanting, they made use of gold and silver, melting down the statues, vases, and even the utensils of private families; for, on this occasion the most covetous became liberal. As they had neither tow nor flax to make cords for working the machines, the women freely cut off their hair, and joyfully dedicated to that use the finest ornament of their heads. Without the walls Afrubal employed the troops under his command in amassing provisions, and conveying them safe into Carthage; so that there was as great plenty there as in the Roman camp¹.

The Romans attempt to take the town by assault, but are repulsed.

The consuls delayed drawing near to Carthage, not doubting but the inhabitants, whom they imagined destitute of necessaries to sustain a siege, would upon cool reflection submit; and this delay cost the Romans many battles and much blood. At length, finding themselves deceived in their expectation, they approached and invested the place. As they were still persuaded that the Carthaginians had no arms, they flattered themselves that they should easily take the city by assault. Accordingly they approached the walls, in order to plant their scaling-ladders; and then, to their great surprise, they discovered a prodigious multitude of men on the ramparts, shining in the armour they had newly made. The legionaries were so terrified at this unexpected sight, that they fell back, and would have retired, if the consuls had not led them on to the attack; which, however, proved unsuccessful. The Romans were obliged to relinquish the enterprise, and lay aside all thoughts of taking Carthage by assault. Afrubal, having drawn together from all places subject to Carthage a great number of troops, encamped within reach of the Romans, and soon reduced them to great straits for want of provisions, their parties not venturing out of the camp to forage, for fear of the Carthaginian cavalry,

¹ Liv. in Epit. Polyb. Legat. 142. Appian. in Pun. p. 55. Strab. lib. xvii. p. 832. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 15.

which

which was more numerous than their own. As Marcius was posted near a marsh (for the two consuls encamped separately), the exhalations of the stagnating waters, and the heat of the season, infected the air, and caused a general sickness among his men. He therefore ordered his fleet to draw as near the shore as possible to receive his troops, and transport them to a healthier place, but still within the reach of Carthage. Asdrubal, who commanded in the city, having notice of this motion, ordered all the old barks in the harbour to be filled with combustible materials; and then, taking advantage of the wind, which blew towards the enemy, let them drive upon their ships, which were, for the most part, consumed. After this disaster Marcius was called home to preside at the elections, and Manilius ordered to continue the war in Africa. The Carthaginians, looking upon the removal of one of the consuls as a happy presage of their speedy deliverance, made a brisk sally in the night, and would have surprised the consul's camp, had not Æmilianus, with some squadrons, marched out of the gate opposite to the place where the attack was made, and, riding full speed round the camp attacked the enemy, who expected nothing less, in the rear, and obliged them to return in disorder into the city.

*Part of
the Roman
fleet de-
stroyed.*

Asdrubal had posted himself under the walls of a city, named Nepheris, but twenty-four miles distant from Carthage, and situated on a high mountain, which seemed inaccessible on all sides. From thence the Carthaginian general made incursions into the neighbouring country, intercepted the Roman convoys, attacked their detachments sent out to forage, and even ordered parties to insult the consular army in their camp. The consul resolved to drive Asdrubal from this advantageous post, and, contrary to the opinion of Æmilianus, who well knew the difficulty of the enterprize, set out on his march for Nepheris. As he drew near the hills, Asdrubal suddenly appeared at the head of his army in order of battle, and fell upon the Romans with incredible fury. The consular army sustained the attack with great resolution, and Asdrubal retired in good order to his former post, hoping the Romans would attack him there: but the consul, being now convinced that his design could not be pursued without endangering the army, resolved to retire; and accordingly began his retreat. This Asdrubal no sooner perceived, than he came down from the mountains like a torrent, and falling upon the enemy's rear,

*Asdrubal
harasses
the Ro-
mans.*

Scipio Æmilianus saves the Roman army.

cut a great many of them in pieces. All authors agree that the whole army would have been lost, if it had not been for the bravery and prudent conduct of Scipio Æmilianus, who, being at this time only a legionary tribune, renewed the famous exploit of Horatius Cocles. At the head of three hundred horse, he sustained the attack of all the forces commanded by Asdrubal, and covered the legions, while they passed a river in their retreat before the enemy. Then he and his companions threw themselves into the stream, and swam to the other side. The Romans lost a great number of men in this rash enterprise, and, among the rest, three legionary tribunes, who had been the most sanguine in promoting it, contrary to the opinion of Æmilianus.

Delivers four manipuli surrounded by the enemy.

When the Romans had crossed the river, they perceived that four manipuli were wanting; and were soon after informed, that these brave men, being surrounded, had posted themselves on an eminence, resolved to sell their lives dear. Their distress raised the compassion of Æmilianus, who, taking with him a chosen body of horse, and provisions for two days, repassed the river, and flew to the deliverance of his countrymen. He seized a hill over-against that on which the four manipuli were posted, and, after some hours repose, marched against the Carthaginians, attacked them at the head of his squadron, with the boldness of a man determined to conquer or die; and, notwithstanding a vigorous opposition, opened a way for his fellow-citizens to escape. On his return to the camp, the soldiers, who had given him over for lost, carried him to his quarters in a kind of triumph; and the manipuli he had saved gave him a crown of gramen, or grass, gathered on the spot where he had signalized his valour; which was deemed more honourable than the richest presents. By these, and many other glorious exploits, Æmilianus, in this unfortunate campaign, gained such reputation, that Cato, who is said never to have commended any body before, could not refuse the young tribune the praises he deserved, which, however, he mixed, after his usual manner, with severe reflections on the other officers of the army in Africa. This rigid philosopher died soon after, at the age of eighty-four or eighty-five: he is said to have foretold, before he expired, that Carthage would never be reduced, till Scipio Æmilianus was employed in that expedition*.

* Liv. in Epit. Plut. in Cat. Appian. in Punic.

In Spain the Roman arms were more unsuccessful than in Africa. The prætor Vetilius, who commanded ten thousand men in the farther province, lost four thousand of them in a battle against the Lusitanians, conducted by Viriathus, who was first a famous hunter, afterwards a captain of banditti, and at last commander in chief of the Lusitanian rebels. ^{*The Roman arms unsuccessful in Spain.*} Vetilius was taken prisoner by a soldier, who killed him without knowing who he was. Upon the news of this disaster, the republic immediately sent C. Plautius into Spain, with a reinforcement of ten thousand foot, and thirteen hundred horse. These, being joined by a great number of Spaniards, who continued faithful to the republic, made a formidable army: but Viriathus, after having, by a stratagem, cut in pieces a detachment of four thousand Romans, ventured to engage them in a pitched battle, which he conducted with such dexterity, that the prætorian army was entirely defeated, and forced to shut themselves up all the summer in the neighbouring cities; so that the brave Lusitanian, being now master of the field, laid the whole country under contribution ¹.

At Rome, Sp. Posthumius Albinus Magnus and L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius being chosen consuls for the new year, the conduct of the war in Africa fell by lot to the latter. As he did not hasten to his province, Manilius, who continued to command the army in quality of proconsul, endeavoured to repair the faults he had committed during his consulate. He frequently sent out Æmilianus, with strong parties, to pillage the neighbouring country, and intercept the enemy's convoys; and the tribune was always attended with success. He took several castles, and, among the rest, Tezaga, a place of great strength. In one of these expeditions he found means to have a private conference with Phameas, general, under Asdrubal, of the Carthaginian cavalry, and brought him over, together with two thousand two hundred of his troops, to the Roman interest. Phameas was an able commander, who by his bravery and skill had exceedingly distressed the Roman army. The proconsul sent him soon after with Æmilianus to Rome, to receive the honours and rewards he deserved from the republic. At the same time Manilius wrote a letter to the senate, wherein he acknowledged himself indebted to Æmilianus for what success he had met with during the campaign ².

Æmilianus takes several strong places, and gains the general of the Carthaginian cavalry.

¹ Appian. in Iberic. ² Appian. in Punjc. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 11. Zonar. lib. ix.

*The Roman arms
unsuccessful.*

The consul Calpurnius Piso, and the prætor Mancipius, arrived in Africa; the former to command the land-forces, and the other the fleet. These two generals formed a very different plan for the campaign from that of Marcius and Manilius. Instead of pursuing the siege of the capital, they applied themselves to the reduction of some other cities on the African coast, which they attacked by sea and land. They first invested Clupea; but were obliged to abandon the enterprize, the inhabitants having, in several sallies, killed great numbers of their men. From Clupea the consul advanced to a city newly built, and thence called Neapolis, which professed a strict neutrality, and even had a safeguard from the Romans: however, the consul plundered the place, and stripped the inhabitants of all their effects. After this exploit he laid siege to Hippagreta, which employed the Roman fleet and army the whole summer. When the winter drew near, the consul raised the siege, and returned with his fleet and army to Utica, without having performed one important action during the whole campaign.

*Scipio Æmilianus
chosen
consul.*

The time of the elections drawing near, the people, considering that the republic wanted great generals, resolved to have regard to nothing but merit; and as Scipio Æmilianus was, in their opinion, the only man who could retrieve the reputation of the Roman arms in Africa, they dispensed with the Villian law in his favour, which required every candidate for the consulship to be forty-three years old, and raised him to the consular dignity at the age of thirty-seven. Neither would they suffer him to draw lots with his colleague, C. Livius Drusus, for the conduct of the Carthaginian war; but appointed him, by a special decree, to succeed Piso. The new consul immediately set sail for Sicily, taking on board with him Polybius the historian, for whom he had a great esteem, and Lælius, whom he appointed his lieutenant-general (C). With Polybius and Lælius, Æmilianus sailed from Sicily, and entered the port of Utica with his fleet, under the command of the prætor Serranus, when three thousand five hundred of the Roman army

*He arrives
in Africa.*

(C) The son of the other Lælius, the intimate friend of Scipio Africanus. Æmilianus, in imitation of that hero, entered into as strict a friendship with Lælius the son, as the first Scipio had done with the father. It is said, that Æmilianus and his friend Lælius were the authors of the comedies commonly ascribed to Terence.

were in imminent danger of being cut in pieces before Carthage.

These, during Piso's absence, who had penetrated into the inland country with his army, had seized Megalia, one of the suburbs of the city : but as they had not furnished themselves with provisions to subsist there, and could not retire, being invested on all sides by the enemy's troops, the prætor Mancinus, who commanded this detachment, seeing the danger into which he had brought himself, dispatched, in the dusk of the evening, a light boat to Utica, to acquaint the Romans with his danger. The messenger delivered the prætor's letter to the new consul, who had landed his troops a few hours before. Æmilianus flew to the relief of the invested Romans, obliged the Carthaginians to retire within their walls, and, putting the three thousand five hundred men on board his ships, conveyed them safe to Utica. He then dispatched a messenger to Piso to inform him of his arrival, and to order him to draw near to Carthage with his army. The proconsul obeyed; and Æmilianus, having taken upon him the command of the troops, applied himself wholly to the taking of Carthage, as the only means to reduce at once the African republic.

*Delivers a
body of Ro-
mans in-
vested by
the Car-
thaginians.*

His first attack was upon Megalia, which he carried by assault, the Carthaginian garrison retiring into the citadel of Byrsa. Asdrubal, who had commanded the forces of the republic in the field, and was now governor of Carthage, was so enraged at the loss of Megalia, that he caused all the Roman captives, taken in the two years the war had lasted, to be brought upon the ramparts, and thrown headlong, in the sight of the Roman army, from the top of the wall, after having, with an excess of cruelty, commanded their hands and feet to be cut off, and their eyes and tongues to be torn out. Being of a temper remarkably inhuman, he is said to have taken pleasure in seeing some of those unhappy men flayed alive. While Asdrubal thus vented his rage on the Roman captives, the consul was employed in drawing lines cross the neck of land, which joined the isthmus, whereon Carthage stood, to the continent. By this work all the avenues on the land-side to Carthage being shut up, the city could receive no provisions that way. His next care was to raise a mole in the sea, in order to block up the old port, the new port being already shut up by the Roman fleet; and this great work he effected with immense labour. The mole reached from the western neck of land, of which the Romans

*Carthage
blocked up
by sea and
land.*

were

were masters, to the entrance of the port; and was ninety feet broad at the bottom, and eighty at the top. The besieged, when the Romans first began this surprising mole, laughed at the attempt; but were no less alarmed than surprised, when, contrary to their expectation, they beheld it appearing above water, the continent carried, as it were, a great way into the sea, and, by these means, the port rendered inaccessible to ships, and quite useless. And now emulation and despair prompted the Carthaginians to attempt and execute what seemed altogether impossible, and would appear utterly incredible, if it were not attested by the historian who has given us the most particular account of the siege of Carthage*.

The besieged dig a new basin, and build a fleet.

With incredible industry they in a short time dug a new basin, and cut a passage into the sea, by which they could receive the provisions that were sent them by their troops in the field. With equal expedition they built and fitted out a fleet of fifty triremes, which, to the great surprise of the Romans, appeared suddenly, advancing into the sea through this new canal, and even ventured to give the enemy battle. The action lasted the whole day, and was glorious both for the besieged and the besiegers, little advantage being gained on either side. The day after the engagement the consul endeavoured to make himself master of a terrace, which covered the city on the side next the sea; and on this occasion the besieged signalized their resolution in the most remarkable manner. Great numbers of them, naked and unarmed, went into the water in the night with unlighted torches in their hands; and having got within reach of the Roman engines, they struck fire, lighted their torches, and threw them with fury against the machines. The sudden appearance of these naked men, who looked like so many monsters starting up out of the sea, terrified the Romans, who guarded the machines, to such a degree, that they began to retire in the utmost confusion. The consul who commanded this detachment in person, and had continued all night at the foot of the terrace, endeavoured to stop his men; and even ordered those who fled to be killed; but the Carthaginians, perceiving the confusion the Romans were in, threw themselves upon them like so many wild beasts, and, having put them to flight only with their torches, set fire to the machines, which were entirely consumed. This loss, however, did not discourage the consul; he

A bold and successful attempt of the Carthaginians.

* Appian. in Punic. p. 68.

renewed the attack a few days after, carried the terrace by assault, and lodged four thousand men upon it. As this was an important post, because it pent in Carthage on the sea-side, Æmilianus took care to fortify and secure it against the sallies of the enemy; and then winter approaching, he suspended all farther attacks upon the place till the return of good weather*.

Æmilianus did not continue idle in his trenches during the cold season. The Carthaginians had a very numerous army under the command of Diogenes, strongly encamped near Nepheris, whence convoys of provisions were sent by sea to the besieged, and brought into the new bastion. To take Nepheris, therefore, was to deprive Carthage of her chief magazine. This service Æmilianus undertook, and succeeded in the attempt; for he first forced the enemy's entrenchments, put seventy thousand of them to the sword, and made ten thousand prisoners, all the inhabitants of the country, who could not retire to Carthage, having taken refuge in this camp. After this victory, the consul laid siege to Nepheris, which was protracted longer than he expected. However, he made himself master of this important place, after he had been twenty-two days before it. In this enterprize the Romans were greatly assisted by a body of Numidian horse under the command of Gulussa, who had succeeded his father Masinissa in the kingdom of Numidia. Masinissa himself had lent the Romans no assistance in this war, being justly piqued at their having undertaken it without imparting their design to him. Asdrubal, being disheartened by the defeat of the army, and touched with the misery of the besieged, now reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions, offered in the name of the Carthaginians to submit to what conditions the Romans should please to propose, provided they would only spare the city. But the consul absolutely refusing to recede from his instructions with regard to the demolition of Carthage, Asdrubal exclaimed, "No, (said he), no, the sun shall never see Carthage destroyed, and Asdrubal alive!"

*Æmilianus
forces the
entrench-
ments of
the Cartha-
ginians.*

In the mean time the consular year being expired, the republic chose C. Cornelius Lentulus and L. Mummius consuls; but Æmilianus was continued general of the army in Africa, till such time as he should finish the great work he had undertaken. Early in the spring he renew-

* Liv. in Epit. Appian. in Punic. p. 75—78. Polyb. in Excerpt. apud Valesium. p Liv. Appian. & Polyb. ibid.

*The island
of Cotho
taken by the
Romans,
and one of
the gates of
the city.*

ed the siege of Carthage; and, in order to open himself a way into the city, ordered Lælius to attempt the reduction of Cotho, a small island which divided the two ports. The proconsul himself made a false attack on the citadel, in order to draw the enemy thither. This stratagem had the desired effect; for the citadel, known by the name of Byrsa, being a place of the utmost importance, most of the Carthaginians hastened thither, and made their utmost efforts to repulse the assailants. In the meantime Lælius having, with incredible expedition, built a wooden bridge over the channel which divided Cotho from the isthmus, entered the island, scaled the walls of the fortrefs which the Carthaginians had built there, and made himself master of that important post. The proconsul, who was engaged before Byrsa, no sooner understood, by the shouts of the Romans, that they had got possession of Cotho, than he abandoned the false attack, and unexpectedly fell on the neighbouring gate of the city, which he broke down, notwithstanding the darts that were incessantly discharged upon his men from the ramparts. As night coming on prevented the proconsul from proceeding farther, he made a lodgment within the gate, and waited there for the return of day, with a design to advance through the city to the citadel, and attack it on that side, which was but indifferently fortified. Pursuant to this design, at day-break he ordered four thousand fresh troops to be sent him from his camp; but did not think it lawful to proceed in the attempt, till he had performed a religious ceremony then practised by the Romans before the taking and sacking of great cities. This was to entreat the tutelary gods of the place, to abandon a situation which was unworthy of their presence and protection. When this ceremony was over, the proconsul solemnly devoted the inhabitants of Carthage to death, and to the gods of hell, in these words: "O formidable Pluto, and ye infernal manes, let loose against the Carthaginian people fear, terror, and vengeance. Let the nations and cities, which have taken up arms against us, be overcome and destroyed. I devote and deliver up to you, Furies, all the enemies of my republic, in my own name and in the name of the senate and people of Rome. But, as for our legions and auxiliary troops, guard them from death and the accidents of war."

The proconsul had no sooner performed this ceremony, than he began to advance, at the head of his men, through the streets of the city, in order to attack the citadel. Polybius the historian, who marched by his side, advised him to throw caltrops, and planks full of nails, with the points upwards, in the streets through which he passed, to prevent his being surprised in the rear. But the brave general replied, "You are over-cautious, Polybius; there is nothing to be feared from a city which is full of confusion, and already taken." He advanced to the market-place, from whence three exceeding steep streets led to the citadel. The houses on both sides were very high, and filled with Carthaginians, who galled the Romans, as they advanced, with darts and stones; so that they could not proceed till they had cleared them. To this end the proconsul in person, at the head of a detachment, attacked the first house, and made himself master of it sword in hand. His example was followed by the officers and soldiers, who went on from house to house, putting all to the sword they met with. As the houses were cleared on both sides of the streets, the Romans advanced in order of battle towards the citadel; but met with a vigorous resistance from the Carthaginians, who on this occasion behaved with uncommon resolution. From the market-place to the citadel two bodies of men fought their way every step, one above, on the roofs of the houses, the other below, in the streets. The slaughter was inexpressibly great and dreadful. The air rung with shrieks and lamentations. Some were cut in pieces, others threw themselves down from the tops of the houses; so that the streets were filled with dead and mangled bodies.

Æmilianus marches through the city, to attack the citadel.

The destruction was yet greater when, by order of the proconsul, fire was set to that quarter of the town which lay next to the citadel. Incredible multitudes, who had escaped the swords of the enemy, perished in the flames, and by the fall of the houses. After the fire, which lasted six days, had demolished houses enough for the proconsul's purpose, he ordered the rubbish to be removed, and a large area to be made, where all his troops might have room to act. Then he appeared with his whole army before Byrsa, which so terrified the Carthaginians, who had fled thither for refuge, that twenty five thousand women, and soon after thirty thousand men, came out of the gates in such a condition as excited pity.

The proconsul sets fire to one of the quarters of the city.

They threw themselves prostrate before the Roman general, asking no favour but life. This the proconsul readily granted, not only to them but to all who were in Byrfa, except the Roman deserters, whose number amounted to nine hundred. The wife of Asdrubal earnestly entreated her husband to suffer her to join the suppliants, and carry with her to the proconsul her two sons, who were very young; but the barbarous governor denied her request, and rejected the remonstrances of his wife with menaces. The Roman deserters, seeing themselves excluded from mercy, resolved to die sword in hand, like brave men, rather than deliver themselves up to the vengeance of Rome. Asdrubal, finding them all to a man determined to defend themselves to the last breath, committed to their care his wife and children; and then exhibited a most remarkable instance of cowardice and inconstancy.

Asdrubal delivers himself up to the Roman general.

This governor, who had braved death when it was at a distance, and protested that the sun should never see him survive Carthage, this fierce Asdrubal was so mean-spirited, as to come alone, and privately throw himself at the conqueror's feet. The general, pleased to see his proud rival humbled, granted his life, and kept him to grace his triumph. The Carthaginians in the citadel no sooner understood, that their commander had abandoned the place, than they threw open the gates, and put the proconsul in possession of Byrfa. The Romans had now no enemy to contend with but the nine hundred deserters, who, being reduced to despair, retired into the temple of Æsculapius, which was a second citadel within the first. There the proconsul attacked them; and those unhappy wretches, finding there was no way to escape, set fire to the temple. As the flames spread, they retreated from one part to another, till they got to the roof of the building. There Asdrubal's wife appeared in her best apparel, as if the day of her death had been a day of triumph; and, after having uttered the most bitter imprecations against her husband, whom she saw standing below with Æmilianus, "Base coward (said she), the mean things thou hast done to save thy life shall not avail thee; thou shalt die this instant, at least in thy two children." Having thus spoken, she drew out a dagger, stabbed them both, and, while they were yet struggling for life, threw them from the top of the temple, and leaped down after them into the flames*.

Asdrubal's wife murders her children, and throws herself into the flames.

* Appian. *ibid.* p. 9—31. & in Syriac. Plut. in Apoph. Val. Max. lib. iii. cap. 1. Orof. lib. iv. cap. ult. Liv. in Epit.

The proconsul delivered up the city to be plundered, but in the manner prescribed by the Roman military law. The soldiers were allowed to appropriate to themselves all the furniture, utensils, and brass money they should find in private houses; but all the gold and silver, the statues and pictures, were reserved to be put into the hands of the quaestors. The cities of Sicily, which had been often plundered by the Carthaginian armies, recovered a great number of statues, pictures, and other valuable monuments; amongst the rest the famous brazen bull which Phalaris had ordered to be cast, and made use of as the instrument of his cruelty, was restored to the inhabitants of Agrigentum. The proconsul put part of the spoils on board a galley, which he dispatched to Rome, to acquaint the senate, that Carthage was taken, and the war in Africa finished. He desired new instructions from the fathers, as to the demolition of the walls, temples, and houses of Carthage, his good-nature and compassion inclining him to spare what remained of that metropolis. The joy of the people at Rome was inexpressibly great on the news of the reduction of Carthage. They anticipated the decree of the senate, and meeting by tribes of their own accord, crowded to the temples, to thank the gods for the success of their arms.

*Carthage
plundered.*

Upon the report which the messenger sent by Æmilianus made to the senate, the senators, after having employed some time in deliberations and debates, dispatched the following instructions to their general: 1. The city of Carthage, with Byrsa and Megalia, shall be entirely demolished, and no traces of them left. 2. All the cities that have lent Carthage any assistance shall be dismantled. 3. The territories of those cities which have declared for the Romans shall be enlarged with lands taken from the enemy. 4. All the lands between Carthage and Hippo shall be divided among the inhabitants of Utica. 5. All the Africans of the Carthaginian state, both men and women, shall pay an annual tribute to the Roman people at a certain sum per head. 6. The whole country, which was subject to the Carthaginian state, shall be formed into a Roman province, and be governed by a prætor, in the same manner as Sicily. 7. Rome shall send commissioners into Africa, there to settle jointly with the proconsul the state of the new province.

*Instructions
sent by the
senate to
Æmili-
anus.*

* Appian. p. 83.

Yr. of Fl.
2502.
Ante Chr.
246.
U. C. 602.

*Carthage
destroyed.*

This decree was carried by ten commissioners, and strictly executed. Before the proconsul destroyed Carthage, he performed all those religious ceremonies which were required on such occasions: he first sacrificed victims to the gods, and then caused a plough to be drawn round the walls of the city. After this ceremony, the towers, ramparts, walls, and all the works which the Carthaginians had raised in the course of many ages, and at a vast expence, were levelled with the ground; then fire was set to the edifices of this metropolis, which consumed them all, not a single house escaping the flames. Though the fire began in all quarters at the same time, and burnt with incredible fury, it continued for seventeen days, before all the buildings were consumed; and hence we may judge of the great extent of the city. When it was entirely demolished, and the affairs of the new province settled, the proconsul embarked his troops, and returned to Rome, where he was honoured with a magnificent triumph, and the glorious surname of the Second Africanus. After his triumph, he deposited in the Capitol an urn full of the ashes of the capital of Africa, which he thought an agreeable offering to Jupiter Capitolinus. Asdrubal, and Bythias, the general of the Carthaginian horse, after having been led in chains before the triumphant victor's chariot, were, at the request of Æmilianus, allowed to enjoy both life and liberty. The rest of the prisoners were sold to the best bidder, or perished in the various prisons to which they were confined*. Thus ended one of the most renowned republics in the world, both for power and riches, after it had subsisted near seven hundred years, given laws to many distant provinces, and, for the space of a hundred years, rivalled Rome, and reduced her once to the utmost extremity.

*Corinth
destroyed.*

Carthage was not the only great and wealthy city which the Romans destroyed in this remarkable year. Corinth had the same fate, after it had flourished at least nine hundred years. Having given, in our history of the Achæans, a very particular account of this memorable event, we shall not repeat the same transactions, but follow the victorious arms of the republic in the conquests it made after the reduction of Greece and Africa, which were both now become Roman provinces.

* Appian. in Punic. Eutrop. lib. iv. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 15. Zonar. lib. ix.

C H A P. XLIII.

The History of Rome, from the Destruction of Carthage to the End of the Sedition of the Gracchi.

AFTER the destruction of Carthage and Corinth, Rome had no enemy to contend with in Greece or Africa, the imperious republic having put it out of the power of the conquered people to raise new disturbances. However, she was not in a condition to lay down her arms, and suffer her citizens to enjoy at home the sweets of peace: she had still a war to maintain in Spain, where the brave Viriathus had gained great advantages over the generals who had been sent against him during the late Punic war. After the defeat and death of Vitellius, the Lusitanian had augmented his forces, and defeated, in three battles, the prætors Caius Plautius Hypsæus and Claudius Unimanus, though they led against him very numerous armies. As he had been victorious for six years, putting the Romans to flight wherever he met them, he had detached whole nations from the interests of Rome, and laid waste the countries of her most faithful allies. The senate therefore thought it necessary to send a consul of reputation, with a consular army, into Farther Spain; and chose for that expedition Q. Fabius Æmilianus, who, with L. Hostilius Mancinus, had just succeeded Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, and L. Mummius Achaicus. Mancinus had commanded the Roman fleet in Africa two years before, in quality of prætor; the former was brother to the Second Africanus, and son to Paulus Æmilius, but adopted into the Fabian family, whence he had the name of Fabius, and the surname of Æmilianus. While he continued at Rome to raise two new legions, C. Lælius, the friend of the Second Africanus, to whom Hither Spain had fallen by lot, embarked without delay, and passing from his own province into Farther Spain, convinced the Lusitanian general, that he was not invincible. This is all we learn from history of this expedition. Fabius, after his arrival, employed the whole summer in training his new troops to the toils of war and discipline.

*Viriathus
gains ad-
vantages
in Spain;*

*but is de-
feated by
Q. Fabius.*

The next year, when Ser. Sulpitius Galba and L. Aurel. Cotta were consuls, Fabius, who was continued in the command of the army in Spain, gained two victories over Viriathus, and made himself master of two important places, which had been long in possession of the rebels. On his return to Rome, the senate did not judge his victories worthy of a triumph, which at this time was granted to such generals only as had killed at least five thousand of the enemy in one battle *.

*The Ro-
mans de-
feated by
the Lusita-
nians.*

*Metellus
reduces the
Arevacæ.*

Next year, Q. Cæcilius Metellus and Appius Claudius Pulcher were raised to the consulate; and the former, with the prætor Q. Pompeius, appointed to carry on the war against Viriathus. Pompeius reached Spain before Metellus, and attacked Viriathus with success; but he was afterwards worsted by the Lusitanian, driven out of the field, and obliged to shut himself up in Corduba. Soon after this transaction, Metellus arrived, and offered the enemy battle, which Viriathus declined; then the consul, entering the country of the Arevacæ, who had lately revolted, obliged the whole nation to submit upon his own terms. Metellus was an officer of great experience, and personal bravery, very severe in keeping the soldiers to their duty, and the author of the famous saying, since put into the mouths of many generals, "If he thought that his coat could be privy to his designs, he would burn it *." While this consul signalized himself in Spain, his colleague, who commanded an army in Cisalpine Gaul, forced the Salassi into a rebellion. This nation inhabited a province near the head of the Po, and had frequent disputes with the Insubres about the Druria, which watered their country before it reached the borders of Insubria. This river then brought down gold mixed with its sand, and the Salassi used several arts to gather the particles of this precious metal, before they were carried by the stream into the country of the Insubres. Of this anticipation the Insubres complained to the consul, who immediately entered the country of the Salassi in a hostile manner, and obliged them to have recourse to arms in their own defence. The consul was defeated in a pitched battle, and lost five thousand of his men. Upon the news of this defeat, the Sibylline books being consulted, the decemvirs declared, that all the forms of religion had not been observed in this hasty war with the Salassi. In consequence of this declaration, the general

*The Salassi
defeat the
Romans;*

* Appian. in Iberic. * Auctor de Vir. Illustr. Plut. Apoph.

was ordered to offer a sacrifice on the borders of the enemy's country. He obeyed; and then, the prejudices of religion giving the superstitious soldiery new courage, he fought a second battle, defeated the Salassi, and killed five thousand of them.

are afterwards defeated by them.

When the campaign was ended, the consul returned to Rome, and demanded a triumph for having killed five thousand of the enemy in a pitched battle; but as he had lost five thousand legionaries in a former battle, his petition was rejected. Thus repulsed, the consul decreed himself that honour, and was the first who entered Rome triumphantly in opposition to the senate and people. As he advanced towards the Capitol, a tribune of the people attempted to bring him down from his chariot; but his daughter Claudia, a Vestal, whom he carried in the chariot with him, opposed the tribune, who, after some altercation, gave way, and, in the person of Claudia, shewed his regard both for her sex and profession. The conduct of the Vestal was highly applauded by the people; but the consul was loaded with curses.

Claudius triumphs in opposition to the senate.

In the following year, when Q. Fabius Servilianus and L. Cæcilius Metellus were consuls, Q. Cæcilius Metellus, who continued in Spain, in quality of proconsul, pursued the war in that country; he displayed his strict regard to discipline among his own troops, and his humanity to the conquered, in so glorious a manner, that it is not easy to decide which did him most honour. As he could not bring Viriathus to a battle, he resolved to recover those places which had sided with the Lusitanian. He first laid siege to Contrebia, and carried it by assault. He then invested Nertobrigia, where he exhibited a remarkable instance of his humanity. A chief lord of the country, named Rhetogenes, came out of the place, and surrendered himself to the Romans; but as he had left in the city his wife and children, the inhabitants, enraged at his desertion, placed them in the breach which the legionaries were to mount. The humane general, finding he could not attack the city without spilling their blood, abandoned a certain conquest, and raised the siege. The fame of an act of such humanity being soon spread through all Tarraconian Spain, the inhabitants of the revolted cities strove who should first submit to him. Metellus received them, and, among the rest, the Nertobrigians, into an alliance with Rome, and

Metellus reduces several places in Spain. Instance of his humanity.

He recovers all Tarraconian Spain.

† Liv. Epit. lib. liii. Strab. lib. iv. Dio Cass. lib. liii.

recovered the whole country except Termantia and Numantia².

Servilianus defeated by Viriathus. The consul Servilianus, who was engaged with Viriathus in Farther Spain, gained at first some advantages over that brave commander, but in the end was defeated by him, with the loss of three thousand legionaries³.

Metellus recalled. When the time came for the great elections, Q. Pompeius, a man of a mean birth, was raised to the consulate, in preference to Caius Lælius, though supported by the interest of his inseparable friend Scipio Æmilianus. The colleague given him was Cn. Servilius Cæpio, a patrician. In the same comitia Servilianus was appointed to continue the war in Spain as proconsul; whereas Metellus was only allowed to command in Hither Spain till the arrival of his successor, though he earnestly solicited the favour, formerly granted to others, of finishing the war which he had so happily begun. When he understood that Pompey was to succeed him, he resolved to make the best use of his time, and signalize himself before the arrival of his worthless successor. He marched out of his quarters in the depth of winter, entered the farther province, and taking his route towards Lusitania, where Viriathus had cantoned his troops, endeavoured, before he left Spain, to draw that famous commander to a battle.

His success in Spain.

Viriathus, though proud and enterprising against others, kept himself upon the defensive against Metellus, who thereupon over-ran great part of the country, and brought back Escadia, Gemella, Obolcula (D), and many other considerable cities, to their duty. Some of the heads of the revolt were punished with death, and the rest, to the number of nine thousand five hundred, sold to the best bidder.

² Liv. Epit. lib. liii. Front. Strat. lib. iv. cap. 1. Flor. lib. ii. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. ³ Liv. in Epit. lib. xxxv. Eutrop. lib. iv. Appian. in Iberic.

(D) All we know of Escadia is, that it stood in the neighbourhood of Bætica and Lusitania. Gemella, called by Pliny Tucci, and Gemella Augusta, stood, according to Ambrosius Morales, in the place where Martos, a small city of Andalusia, now stands. Obolcula, which Antoninus and Ptolemy call Obulcula, was a city of Turdetania, a province of Bætica. Rodericus Carus is of opinion, that it stood on the spot where Castillo de la Monclova was afterwards built, that is, forty-two miles east of Seville. This situation agrees with Antoninus's itinerary.

In

In the height of his success, news were brought him, that his successor had left Rome; and then his resentment revived: he vented his passion first in rash expressions, and then in actions, which were much more blameable. He resolved to weaken the army which he was obliged to relinquish. He disbanded the flower of his troops, exhausted the magazines, let his elephants die, broke in pieces the arrows which were provided for the Cretan archers, and threw them into the river. Thus Metellus, famous for the conquest of Macedon, whence he had the glorious surname of Macedonicus, sacrificed his country to his private ambition. On his return he was refused a triumph, the slightest punishment the republic could inflict upon him^b. The army which Metellus surrendered to Pompey consisted of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse; a sufficient force to have subdued all Celtiberia, if the new general had possessed the talents and experience of his predecessor. He no sooner appeared in the field, than the Termantians and Numantines, who had kept themselves in a state of independency, offered him very advantageous terms of peace; but the presumptuous consul insisted upon their delivering up their arms, and by his obstinacy kindled a war which cost the Romans a great deal of blood. Full of confidence he drew near Numantia, and invested it; but the Numantines, having first surrounded and cut in pieces a party of Romans, fell afterwards upon the main body of the army, and so galled them from the neighbouring eminences with showers of darts and arrows, that the consul thought it adviseable to retire.

His resentments.

The occasion of the Numantine war.

He removed to Termantia, but was not attended with success. The first day the Termantians killed seven hundred of his legionaries, took a great convoy, after having put to flight the tribune who escorted it, and not only defeated a considerable body of Roman horse, but forced them to retire from post to post, till they came to the edge of a precipice, over which they were all dashed in pieces. Next day they engaged the rest of the Roman cavalry, but being overpowered by superior numbers, they were forced to quit the field, after having kept their ground from break of day to sun-set. However the consul did not think fit to besiege the city, but marched to Malia, a small town, whose inhabitants surrendered to the Romans, after having massacred the Numantine garrison. From thence

The Numantines and Termantians gain advantages over the Romans.

^b Appian, in Iberic. Val. Max. lib. ix. cap. 3.

Pompeius advanced to Lanci, or, as others call it, Lagni, which covered the country of the Numantines. The Numantine garrison, finding that the inhabitants had privately agreed with the consul to sacrifice them, entered their houses in the night, and made a dreadful slaughter. The consul, taking advantage of this intestine war, gave orders for the assault, and made himself master of the defenceless city. Pompey seeing himself in possession of the place, thought it necessary to signalize his clemency and severity; but he misapplied them both; for he put the Lancians to the sword, and gave quarter to the Numantine garrison^c.

The Romans surrounded by Viriathus.

Servilius forced to make peace with Viriathus.

In Farther Spain the proconsul Servilianus obliged Viriathus to raise the siege of Baccia, and took some castles in that neighbourhood. This success encouraged the consul to lay siege to Erisana, a strong city in Lusitania. But Viriathus having thrown himself into the place with a strong detachment in the night, before the lines of circumvallation were finished, made a vigorous sally upon the Romans, and drove them to a place where the rest of his army lay in ambush. There they were surrounded on all sides, and so hemmed in, that the only choice they had left was death or slavery. The brave Lusitanian, having now the proconsul and the whole Roman army in his power, instead of putting them all to the sword, as he might have easily done, sent a deputation to Servilianus, offering to conclude a peace with him on this single condition, that he should continue master of the country now in his power, and that the Romans should remain possessed of the rest of Spain. The proconsul, who expected nothing less than death or slavery, thought these very favourable and moderate terms; and therefore, without hesitation, concluded a peace, which was ratified by the Roman senate and people.

Numantia besieged.

Next year C. Lælius Sapiens was promoted to the consulate with Q. Servilius Cæpio. The latter was a man of no probity or honour; but it fell to his lot to command in Farther Spain, while Lælius, a general of experienced wisdom, equity, and valour, continued inactive in Rome. Pompey was continued general in Hither Spain; but the republic sent a number of senators to regulate his conduct and temper his fire. Before they arrived, he undertook the mad project of reducing Numantia, by turning the stream of the Durus, which supplied it with water. This

^c Appian. in Iberic. Diod. Sicul. in Eclog. Oros. lib. v. cap. 4. Front. Strat. lib. iv. Val. Max. lib. ii. cap. 2.

work afforded the inhabitants opportunities of harassing his troops, and cutting off such numbers of them, that he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, and retire from before the place. The great army he had received from Metellus being reduced to a small number of troops, he began to reflect seriously on his misconduct; and, in order to screen himself from censures, artfully brought about a peace with the Numantines on worse terms than they had before offered to accept; for they only agreed to deliver up the Roman deserters, and pay the republic thirty talents at different times. However this peace was approved of, and signed by Pompey and the senators, who had been sent from Rome to be of his council. Q. Servilius Cæpio, to whose lot Farther Spain had fallen, being desirous to revenge the disgrace the Romans had suffered the last year before Erisana, pressed the senate to order him to break the peace with Viriathus. The letters he wrote after his arrival in Spain, and his continual remonstrances, made such impressions on the senators, that they basely directed him to exasperate the Lusitanian by mean artifices, and force him, by repeated affronts, to commit the first acts of hostility.

The siege raised.

Peace with the Numantians.

Baseness and injustice of the Romans.

Pursuant to this order, so unworthy of a great and powerful people, the consul left no method untried to provoke Viriathus; but he overlooked the affronts offered him, protesting, that he would inviolably observe the conditions of peace granted him by the Roman senate and people. Nevertheless the conscript fathers, to the eternal shame of their republic, ordered him to declare war, and proclaimed Viriathus, who had not given them the least provocation, an enemy to Rome. The consul was no sooner impowered to begin the war than he put his troops in motion. Having made himself master of Arsa, a city of Bœtica, he pursued Viriathus into the country of the Carpetani, and there reduced him to great difficulties. The Lusitanian made a most glorious retreat; and, though the consul believed him shut in among the hills and rocks on all sides, he disappeared with his troops so suddenly, that the Romans, when they returned to their camp, changed the affair into ridicule, and were very severe in their jests on their general. Cæpio, seeing himself thus baffled by the enemy, entered the country of the Vettones, where he committed dreadful devastations.

He then marched in quest of Viriathus, whom, by dint of superior numbers, he reduced so low, that the Lusitanian was forced to sue again for peace, and even to

*Viriathus
again sues
for peace,
which is
granted
him.*

*Hostilities
renewed.*

*The infam-
ous con-
duct of
Cæpio.*

*Viriathus
treache-
rously mur-
dered.*

*The war
in Farther
Spain
ended.*

comply with the hard preliminary imposed upon him, which was, to sacrifice all those who had caused any cities to revolt from the Romans, among whom was his wife's father. He put some of them to death in his own camp, and the rest he delivered up to the severity of the consul, who ordered their right hands to be cut off. He hoped that this blind obedience would soften the consul; but, to his great surprize, the next order he received was to disarm his troops. This command the whole army rejected with indignation, and hostilities were renewed, during which Viriathus continued his negotiations with the consul, being bent on founding a new kingdom in Spain, and settling himself on the throne. The persons he employed to treat with Cæpio were Audax, Ditalco, and Minur, in whom he reposed an entire confidence. The consul, finding them, after some private conferences, to be men devoted to their own interest, and capable of any crime by which they could promote it, engaged them, by rich presents and great promises, treacherously to murder their general and their friend. The assassins, after they had committed the execrable murder, fled to the consul's camp, informed him that they had dispatched his rival, and demanded the promised reward. They found, by experience, that traitors are hated even by those who profit by their treachery; for the consul told them, that all he would do for them was to give them protection; adding, with a reproachful air, that the Roman magistrates were not very ready to reward those who murdered their own generals. The Lusitanian troops were inconsolable for the loss of their commander, who was the greatest man Spain ever bred, and deemed invincible by Rome herself. After his death, the Lusitanians appointed Tantalus to command them, who, having rashly undertaken the siege of Saguntum, was surprized by Cæpio, defeated, and forced to surrender himself, and his whole army, at discretion. Thus an end was put to this war, after it had lasted fourteen years: however, the senate had still so much honour left, as to refuse a triumph to the infamous consul, though they enjoyed the fruits of his villainy, and even continued him in the command of the army another year, in Farther Spain, with the title of proconsul^d.

^d Appian. in Iberic. p. 297. Diodor. Sicul. apud Valef. / Auct. de Vir. Illustr. Liv. Epit. lib. xlv. & liv. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 17.

Next year, when Lucius Calpurnius Piso and M. Popilius Lænas were consuls, the republic unjustly broke the treaty which Pompey had concluded with the Numantines, though the proconsul had received from those unfortunate people the deserters, hostages, and money stipulated. The following year, P. Scipio Nafica and D. Junius Brutus were advanced to the consulate, and the latter appointed to govern Farther Spain, where he executed the orders he brought from Rome, of settling some of the veterans in a colony with Viriathus's soldiers. This new colony he called Valentia, which afterwards became a place of great renown. Then he attacked the banditti who ravaged his province, in their own country, which not only the men, but likewise the women, defended with unparaleled bravery: however, the consul at length reduced them; and they were pardoned on account of their extraordinary courage. Popilius, now proconsul, pursuant to the orders of the senate, broke the treaty of peace with Numantia, and marched against that city; but he no sooner appeared before it, than the Numantines, fallying out, put the whole Roman army to flight, and made such a slaughter of them, that they were not in a condition to form any farther attempts during the whole campaign. In the following consulate of M. Æmilius Lepidus and C. Hostilius Mancinus, Brutus passed the Minus, in Farther Spain, and entered the country of the Bracarini, where the women, intermixed with all their troops, fought with astonishing bravery. Talabriga, and other cities, surrendered; and the consul, rather by his clemency than his sword, gained over the whole country to the interest of Rome.

The Romans defeated before Numantia.

During these expeditions of Brutus in Farther Spain, the consul Mancinus took upon him the command of the army, which was delivered to him by Popilius in Hither Spain, and approached Numantia: but as those legions trembled at the sight of a Numantine, the consul thought it advisable to decamp, and move farther off in the night. The Numantines, being informed of their motions, pursued them; and having first seized the camp, which they had abandoned, came up with the flying legions, and made a dreadful havock of them. The consular army consisted of at least thirty thousand; the Numantines were not above four thousand: this small body, strange as it may appear, killed in the pursuit twenty

The Numantines defeat the Roman army.

* Liv. in Epit. Front. Strat. lib. iii. cap. 17. Appian. ibid. p. 300.

thousand of the Romans, and put the rest to a disorderly flight. At the return of light, the consul saw himself surrounded by heaps of dead bodies, and shut in on all sides by the enemy in a rough and mountainous country. In this situation, instead of giving himself up to despair, he acted as prudence and the present necessity seemed to require: as there was no way left for him and the remains of his army to escape, the prudent consul began a negotiation with the enemy, offering to conclude a peace with them upon reasonable terms. This was what the Numantines had long desired; but the fate of their agreement with the consul Pompeius deterred them from entering into a treaty with a Roman general; they therefore desired to treat only with Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who was then quæstor in the consular army, and greatly esteemed for his probity even by the enemy. With him the conferences were begun, and a peace concluded upon these terms: 1. That the Numantines should suffer the Romans to retire unmolested. 2. That the inhabitants of Numantia should maintain their independence, and be reckoned among the friends of the Roman people. The consul, the quæstor, and all the chief officers of the Roman army, engaged by a solemn oath to observe the second article. By these means the lives of ten thousand citizens were saved to the republic; so that the quæstor hoped to make a merit of his negotiation, with the Roman people. The Numantines, soon after the treaty was concluded, gave an instance of the sincerity of their intentions: when they plundered the Roman camp, they had taken, among other things, the quæstor's books of accmpts; and Gracchus went into the city to demand them. The Numantines received him with great civility and politeness, restored his books, and even offered him all the booty they had taken in the camp. The quæstor, charmed with the generosity and good-nature of the Numantines, rejected the offer, and accepted only of a small box, which belonged to him, and was full of the incense which he used to burn in honour of his domestic gods^f.

*Conclude a
peace with
the Ro-
mans.*

*The baseness and
injustice of
the Ro-
mans.*

When the news of the peace concluded with the Numantines were brought to Rome the shocking injustice and baseness of the Romans towards so generous an enemy appeared anew. The Numantines had saved the lives of ten thousand Romans, who were in their power when the

^f Liv. in Epit. lib. lv. Plut. in Gracch. Appian. in Iberic. 310.

peace was concluded : though the senate and people were glad to reap this advantage from the treaty, yet they resolved to break it ; and therefore would not admit the Numantine ambassadors, on their first arrival, within the walls of the city. It is true, that when the new consuls, P. Furius Philus and Sex. Atilius Serranus, were chosen, they granted them an audience ; when one of the ambassadors made a speech in the senate, which would have affected them, if they had possessed either justice or humanity ; but as these virtues had forsaken Rome, the senate and people basely resolved to break the peace, and extirpate that generous and innocent people, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the consul, the quæstor, and all the officers of the army who had served in Spain. They pretended to make the injured Numantines satisfaction, by ordering the consul Mancinus to be carried, bound hand and foot, to one of the gates of Numantia, and be there delivered to the enemy, stripped of his arms and cloaths &c.

During these transactions at Rome, M. Æmilius Lepidus, who had been sent to succeed Mancinus in Hither Spain, began an unjust war with the Vaccæi. While he was preparing to besiege Palantia their capital, deputies came from Rome with a decree of the senate, ordering him to desist ; however Æmilius persisted in his design, till the Vaccæi, by intercepting his convoy, obliged him to decamp for want of provisions. The Romans left their camp in the night ; and the Vaccæi, knowing in what confusion they retired, pursued them, and, in the pursuit, put six thousand legionaries to the sword. Nevertheless, Æmilius, on his return to Rome, was treated with more lenity than he expected, being condemned only to pay a fine. The consul, P. Furius Philus, being arrived in Spain, with orders to renew the war with the Numantines, thought it necessary to deliver up to them the victim he had brought from Rome. It was an affecting sight to see a person, who had lately appeared guarded by licitors at the head of an army, deprived of all the marks of a Roman citizen, stripped naked to the waist, and formally committed to the care of a *fecialis*, who was to put him into the hands of the enemy, for having, as was pretended, imposed upon them by a false peace, and an unlawful oath. The Numantines, not thinking

The Romans defeated by the Vaccæi.

Mancinus delivered up to the Numantines, who refuse to accept him.

‡ Plut. in Gracch. Appian. in Iberic. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. Oros. lib. v. cap. 5. Cic. de Off. lib. iii. Val. Ant. apud A. Gell. lib. vii. cap. 9.

the blood of one man a sufficient atonement for the breach of the most solemn engagements, shut their gates, declaring, that they would not accept of Mancinus, unless they had the whole army with him : so that after he had lain a whole day at the gate of the city, the consul Furius, agreeable to the equity of the Romans of that time, thinking this a sufficient satisfaction to the injured people, brought him back to his camp, entertained him with respect, restored him to all the rights of a Roman citizen, and he was afterwards admitted to his place in the senate. The war with the Numantines, though already declared, was not renewed, while Furius continued in Spain, his commission being confined to the delivering up of Mancinus. Next year, Q. Calpurnius Piso, chosen consul with Ser. Fulvius Flaccus, was ordered to carry on the war with vigour against the Numantines ; but he, not caring to engage so brave and resolute an enemy, contented himself with besieging Palantia in the country of the Vaccæi, and did not even appear before Numantia. Brutus made great conquests in Lusitania, and penetrated into the country of the Callæci, or Gallæci, where he engaged an army of sixty thousand Spaniards, killed fifty thousand of them on the spot, made six thousand prisoners, and almost extirpated the whole nation. Hence he acquired the surname of Callæicus, and was continued in his government till the war should be ended. This year the Vardæi, a people of Illyricum, rebelled, and rejected all advances to an accommodation ; so that the consul Flaccus was sent with an army to reduce them. This task he performed so effectually, that Rome at his return, honoured him with a triumph^h.

*Brutus
makes
great con-
quests in
Lusitania.*

*Scipio
Africanus
a second
time consul.*

The time for the elections being come, Scipio Africanus offered his nephew Fabius Buteo as a candidate for the quæstorship, when, to his great surprize, the tribes demanded Scipio himself for their consul, saying, that he only could destroy Numantia who had destroyed Carthage. A law had been made some years before, enacting, that the same person should not be twice promoted to the consular dignity ; the tribunes of the people, therefore, in order to honour Scipio with the fasces a second time with the approbation of the senate, proposed to the comitia, that Scipio should have a special privilege granted him for his promotion, and that this privilege should not be made a precedent. The people accepted the proposal

^h Flor. lib. ii. cap. 18. Orof. lib. v. cap. 5. Liv. Epit. lib. lvi.
with

with joy, and nominated him consul for the next year with C. Fulvius Flaccus. Scipio was ordered, without drawing lots, to carry on the war against the Numantines; but was not allowed to raise any new levies, the senate telling him, that there were soldiers enough in Spain, and that they only wanted a good general. However, he collected a body of five hundred volunteers, all horsemen, whom he called the Squadron of his Friends, and borrowed about four thousand men of the cities in Italy. In the number of the former was, according to Velleius Paterculus, the famous poet Lucilius. He also wrote to Micipsa king of Numidia, to send him succours; and then made all haste to his province, where he employed the first summer in reforming his troops, till he had improved them to his wish; and frugality, vigilance, and a love of duty, had taken place of effeminacy, laziness, and indolence, which had long prevailed among the officers as well as the soldiers. Neither did he spare, but rather increase, their labours, during the winter; he obliged every man that went out of the camp to carry his tools, and bring back some stakes with him. When the soldiers complained of this hardship, he told them, that he would oblige them to bring palisades to fortify the camp, till they had learned to fortify it with their swords¹. At this time he received a reinforcement of cavalry, elephants, and slingers, from Numidia. They were commanded by a young prince called Jugurtha, with whom the Romans were well acquainted in the sequel. Young Marius made on this occasion his first campaign, and the brave prince entered into so strict a friendship with him, that the two were inseparable. Jugurtha little dreamed that Marius would one day become his most inveterate enemy, and conqueror.

Yr. of Fl.
2215.
Ante Chr.
133.
U. C. 615.

*Sent
against the
Numan-
tines.*

And now Scipio's consulship expired; but he was continued in the command of the Roman army in Spain, till Numantia should be reduced. The new consuls were P. Mutius Scævola and L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi. Sicily fell by lot to the latter, where he was to make war with the revolted slaves; and Italy to the former, who continued in the capital to calm, if possible, the spirit of sedition, which began to appear with the most alarming circumstances. Scipio sent out large detachments to ravage the country round Numantia; for his scheme was to

¹ Flor. lib. ii. cap. 18. Appian. ibid. p. 303. Plut. in Apoph. Liv. Epit. lib. lviii. Val. Max. lib. iii. cap. 7. Frontin. Stratag. lib. iv. cap. 1.

reduce the place, not by force, which would have cost Rome much blood, but by famine. After he had found, that his troops were no longer afraid of the enemy, but boldly faced, and even put them to flight, he began to place some confidence in his legionaries, and resolved to begin the blockade without delay.

Numantia besieged.

Numantia stood on a hill of difficult access, and had large fields within its walls, which were about three miles in compass. The inhabitants, able to bear arms, are said to have been only four thousand men, at least when the place was first invested by Scipio, whose army consisted of sixty thousand well-disciplined troops, Romans and Spaniards. These the proconsul divided into two bodies, the one commanded by himself, the other by his brother Q. Fabius; and, drawing near the city, began his works.

The Numantines sue for peace, which is refused them.

The Numantines, alarmed at the sight of so formidable an army, made proposals of peace; but the proconsul insisting upon their delivering up, by way of preliminary, their city, their persons, and their arms, to be disposed of at pleasure, they resolved to prefer a glorious death to an ignominious slavery. After they had taken this resolution, they marched out of the city in good order, insulted the Romans in their trenches, and, with a boldness which despair alone could inspire, offered the Roman general battle; but he declined it, saying to his soldiers, who began to complain of his conduct, that an able general ought never to hazard a battle, unless necessity compels him, or such an opportunity offers as makes the victory certain. "The Numantines (said he), are actuated by despair; their ruin is inevitable; to engage them would be only giving them the pleasure of shedding your blood." Scipio, having thus restrained the impetuosity of his troops, surrounded the place with a wide and deep ditch, six miles in compass. Without this he drew another; and behind that raised a rampart, which he secured with palisades, and supported with a wall eight feet broad, and ten feet high, with towers at proper distances. Then, to prevent any communication with the city by water, he stopped the navigation of the Durius, which washed the walls of the city, with a kind of steccado, which was flanked with two wooden castles on the two banks. When the works were finished, he guarded them carefully night and day. The ramparts were lined with legionaries, the towers filled with archers and slingers, and men posted from the circumvallation to his camp, with orders to give notice by shouts on which side the alarm was made.

The city blocked up on all sides.

When

When any of the works were attacked by the besieged, the commander on the post attacked hung out a red standard by day, and made a great fire by night; upon which notice the general, who kept always twenty thousand men in readiness to march, sent them immediately strong reinforcements to repel the enemy. Scipio gave no rest to the besieged, nor relaxation to his own troops: he visited each post every day, and took a view of all the parts of this vast circumvallation. Notwithstanding all the precaution he could use, six of the besieged made their way through his camp, and, eluding the vigilance of the centries, got safe to the neighbouring cities, which they endeavoured to arm against the Romans. Lutia was the only place which did more than pity the unfortunate Numantines. The youth of this city, touched with concern for their distressed countrymen, resolved to march to their relief; but the old men having their own safety more at heart than that of the Numantines, acquainted Scipio with the resolutions and designs of their young men. The general, without delay, flew to Lutia in person, with some light-armed troops, marched three hundred furlongs in eight hours, and, arriving when least expected, demanded the rash young men to be delivered up to him. The inhabitants, unwilling to comply with his request, and part with their children, concealed them, and pretended they had made their escape. Scipio threatening to pillage the city, they thought it adviseable to obey, and delivered up to him four hundred of the young men, who had been the chief promoters of the late resolution. The proconsul no sooner had them in his power than he caused their right hands to be cut off, and returned to his camp by sun-rising ^k.

*Scipio's
care and
vigilance.*

*His severity
against
the youth
of Lutia.*

Famine and despair increasing in the besieged city, ambassadors came to Scipio, intreating him, in the name of their countrymen, either to let them end their days like brave men, in a general action, or save their liberty by an honourable capitulation. Abarus, who was at the head of the embassy, suggested to Scipio, that it was for his honour, either to shew clemency to a people who had so bravely signalized their love for liberty, or, at least, not to destroy them otherwise than with the sword. But they received this short answer: "I will hearken to no proposals till you have absolutely surrendered up to me

*Numantia
reduced to
great
straits.*

^k Liv. in Epit. lib. lvii. Appian. in Iberic. p. 36. Oros. lib. v. cap. 6. Aul. Gell. lib. xiii. cap. 3. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 18. Plut. in Apophth.

*The be-
sieged make
a desperate
attempt.*

*Their de-
plorable
condition.*

your city, your persons, and your arms, without any reserve." Then the fury of the besieged first vented itself on the deputies, whom they cut in pieces for bringing them ill news; afterwards, being pressed by want, they resolved to make a last effort, in order to break through the barriers which confined them. They marched out in good order, by two gates, and fell upon the works with a fury not to be expressed: their fixed resolution to escape or die, made them insensible of the wounds they received; notwithstanding the showers of stones, darts, and arrows, which were discharged upon them from the ramparts and towers, they would have forced their way through the enemy's camp, had not Scipio, at the head of twenty thousand men, hastened to the relief of the troops that defended the posts attacked by the enemy. They were then, after a sharp dispute, forced to give way to numbers, and retire, which they did in good order. Their return into the city was only changing one kind of death for another; for they were now reduced to such straits as to first feed on the flesh of their horses, afterwards on that of their dead companions, and lastly, to kill and devour one another.

In this deplorable condition they held a consultation, wherein it was resolved, that they should have recourse to the proconsul, and make an absolute surrender, since they could by no means resist any longer. This resolution was not universally approved: great numbers chose rather to die than to give up their liberty; and shutting themselves up in their houses, there calmly waited for their fate, which hunger soon brought upon them. The rest sent a deputation to Scipio, who was touched with compassion at the sight of those unhappy men. There was something inexpressibly wild in their looks and manner of address. As soon as they mentioned the word "surrender," the proconsul received them graciously, and ordered them to bring all their arms to a place appointed, the next day. They demanded a longer time, which being granted, they set fire to their houses, as some historians tell us¹, reduced their city to ashes, and either killed one another, or perished in the flames; insomuch, that not one of them remained alive to grace the proconsul's triumph. Numantia, though inferior both to Carthage and Corinth, was much more glorious in her fall than either of these proud cities; Scipio took Carthage sword in hand, but did not think it possible to reduce Numantia other-

Yr. of Fl.

2216.

Ante Chr.

132.

U. C. 616.

¹ Flor. lib. ii. cap. 18. Orof. lib. v. cap. 6. Liv. Epit. lib. lix. Frontin. Strat. lib. iv. cap. 5.

wife than by famine. With this city fell all the hopes of the Spaniards; so that the whole country submitted to the Roman yoke. Then the senate sent ten of their body to settle the new province. The Spaniards were too great lovers of liberty to continue long quiet. Scipio, on his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph; and on this occasion the Roman people added the surname of Numantinus to that of Africanus: but notwithstanding all the glory he acquired by his military skill and prowess, the barbarities he acted and authorised, both in Africa and Spain, will leave indelible stains upon his character in the opinion of all those who are actuated by a sense of freedom and spirit of humanity.

Numantia, while in being, had brought numberless disasters upon Rome; but, in some sense, proved still more fatal to her after her destruction. Her ashes, if we may be allowed the expression, kindled the first sedition which polluted the Capitol with blood, and was a prelude to those civil wars which afterwards broke out successively in the republic, and cost her the lives of more citizens than the conquest of the world; we mean the sedition raised by Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, which it may not be improper to trace to its first source. The Sempronian family was, though plebeian, one of the most illustrious in the commonwealth. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus had been twice raised to the consulate, was a great general, and had been honoured with two triumphs; but he was still more renowned for his domestic virtues and probity than for his birth or valour. He married the daughter of the first Africanus, that famous Cornelia who was the pattern of her sex, and the prodigy of her age; and had by her several children, of whom three only arrived to maturity of age, Tiberius Gracchus, Caius Gracchus, and a daughter, named Sempronia, who was married to the second Africanus. Tiberius, the eldest, was deemed the most accomplished youth in Rome, with respect to the qualities both of body and mind. His extraordinary talents were heightened by a noble air, an engaging countenance, and all those winning graces of nature which recommend merit. He made his first campaigns under his brother-in-law, and distinguished himself on all occasions by his courage and the prudence of his conduct. When he returned to Rome he applied himself to the study of eloquence; and, at thirty years old, was accounted the best orator of his age. He married the daughter of Appius Claudius, who had been formerly consul and

*The birth
and educa-
tion of Tib.
Sempronius
Gracchus.*

cenſor, and was then prince of the ſenate. He continued for ſome time in the ſentiments both of his own and his wife's family, and ſupported the intereſt of the patricians, but without openly attacking the popular faction. We have obſerved, that he diſcharged the office of quæſtor in Spain, whither he attended the conſul Mancinus, and ſhared with him the miſfortunes of that unhappy campaign : he was the chief negociator of that ſhameful, but neceſſary peace with the Numantines. The ſenate, with the utmoſt injuſtice, diſannulled the treaty, and condemned the conſul, the quæſtor, and all the officers, who had ſigned it, to be delivered up to the Numantines: the people, indeed, out of eſteem for Gracchus, would not ſuffer him to be ſacrificed ; but, however, he had juſt reaſon to complain, both of the ſenate and people, for paſſing ſo ſcandalous a decree againſt his general and himſelf, and breaking a treaty, whereby the lives of ſo many citizens had been ſaved. As the ſenate had chiefly promoted ſuch baſe and iniquitous proceedings, he reſolved, in due time, to ſhew his reſentment againſt the party which had contributed moſt to his diſgrace ^m.

*Is made
tribune of
the people.*

*He under-
takes the
revival of
the Lici-
nian law.*

With this view he ſtood for the tribuneſhip of the people ; which he no ſooner obtained, than he reſolved to attack the nobility in the moſt tender part. They had uſurped lands unjuſtly, cultivated them by ſlaves, to the great detriment of the public ; and had lived for about two hundred and fifty years in open defiance of the Licinian law, by which it was enacted, that no citizen ſhould poſſeſs more than five hundred acres. This law Tib. Gracchus reſolved to revive, and by that means revenge himſelf on the patricians. It was not revenge alone which prompted him to embark in ſo dangerous an attempt ; it is pretended, that his mother Cornelia animated him to undertake ſomething worthy both of his and her family. " I am commonly called (ſaid ſhe), by way of honour, the mother-in-law of the ſecond Africanus. Why do not they ſtyle me the mother of Gracchus ? It is becauſe your name is not ſo illuſtrious as to reflect any honour upon me. For your own ſake then, and for your mother's, make yourſelf famous by ſome great attempt." Theſe reproaches of his mother, the authority of ſome great men, namely, of his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, of P. Cræſſus the pontifex maximus, and of Mutius Scævola, the moſt learned civilian in Rome, and his natural thirſt

^m Plut. in Gracch.

after glory, joined with an eager desire of revenge, conspired to draw him into this most unfortunate scheme.

The law, as he first drew it up, enacted, that those who possessed more than five hundred acres of land should part with the overplus; and that the full value of the said lands should be paid them out of the public treasury. The lands were to be divided among the poor citizens, and cultivated by themselves or by freemen, who were upon the spot. Tiberius allowed every child of a family to hold two hundred and fifty acres in his own name, besides what was allowed to the father. Nothing could be more mild than this new law; since, by the Licinian, he might have deprived the rich of the lands they unjustly possessed, and made them accountable for the profits they had received from them during their long possession; but the rich patricians could not hear with patience the name of the Licinian law, though thus qualified. Those of the senatorial and equestrian order exclaimed against it, and were continually mounting the rostra to dissuade the people from accepting a law, which, they said, would raise disturbances that might prove more dangerous than the evils which Tiberius pretended to redress. Thus the zealous tribune was obliged, day after day, to enter the lists with fresh adversaries; but he preserved the superiority both in eloquence and argument. He often intermixed with his arguments such topics as were most proper to make impressions on the multitude: "The wild beasts (said he) have dens and caverns to retire to; while the citizens of Rome have not a roof or a cottage to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather; nay, not so much as ground enough to serve them for a grave." On the other hand, the rich insisted on their long possession, on the debts they had contracted by purchasing these lands, and on the confusion such a change would occasion, since these estates were settled on their wives and children^a.

The Sempronian law.

Gracchus answered all their objections so clearly and fully, as left no room for a reply. Cicero, who read the speeches of Gracchus, tells us, that he admired them more for the ingenious turns and solid reasons he found in them, than for the purity of the language, which was not yet in its perfection. The people were charmed to hear him maintain the cause of the unfortunate with so much success, and bestowed on him the highest commendations. The rich had recourse to violence and calumny, in order to destroy, or at least to discredit, the tribune: it is said,

Gracchus gains the favour of the people.

^a Plut. in Gracch.

they hired assassins to dispatch him; but they could not put their design in execution, Gracchus being always attended by a guard of about four thousand men. His adversaries, therefore, endeavoured to ruin his reputation by the blackest calumnies; but the people, without giving ear to such groundless reports, made it their whole business to encourage their tribune, who was hazarding his life and reputation for their sakes^p.

When the day came on which this law was to be accepted or rejected by the people assembled in the comitium, Gracchus began with haranguing the croud, which an affair of such importance had brought together from the city and country. In his speech he demonstrated the justice of the law with so much eloquence, made so moving a description of the miseries of the meaner sort of people, and set forth, in such odious colours, the usurpation of the public lands, and the immense riches which the avarice and rapaciousness of the great had raked together, that the people, transported with fury, demanded, with loud cries, the billets, that they might give their suffrages. Then Gracchus, finding the minds of the citizens in that warmth and emotion which was necessary for the success of his design, ordered the law to be read.

*Octavius,
one of the
tribunes,
opposes the
law.*

Unluckily, one of the tribunes, named Marcus Octavius Cæcina, who had always professed a great friendship for Gracchus, having been gained over by the patricians, declared against the proceedings of his friend and colleague, and pronounced the word which had been always awful in the mouth of a tribune of the people, *Veto, I forbid it.* As Octavius was a man of an unblameable character, and had been very zealous for the publication of the law, Gracchus was surprised at this opposition from his friend: however, he kept his temper, and only desired the people to assemble again the next day, to hear their two tribunes, one in defence of, the other in opposition to, the law proposed. The people met at the time appointed, when Gracchus, addressing himself to his colleague, conjured him, by the mutual duties of their function, and by the bonds of their ancient friendship, not to oppose the good of the people, whom they were bound in honour to protect against the usurpations of the great: taking his colleague aside, he addressed him thus; "Perhaps you are personally concerned to oppose this law: if so, I mean if you have more than the five hundred acres

^p Liv. Epit. lib. lviii. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. i. p. 353. Aul. Gell. lib. ii. cap. 13.

allowed,

allowed, I will, poor as I am, engage to pay you in money what you will lose in land."

Octavius, either out of shame, or from a principle of honour, continuing immovable in the party he had embraced, Gracchus had recourse to another expedient; which was, to suspend all the magistrates in Rome from the execution of their offices. It was lawful for any tribune to take this step, when the passing of the law which he proposed was prevented by mere chicanery. After this step, he assembled the people, and made a second attempt to succeed in his design. When all things were prepared for collecting the suffrages, the rich privately conveyed away the urns in which the tablets were kept. This artifice kindled the tribune's indignation, and the rage of the people. A confused noise arose in the assembly; and the comitium was like to become a field of battle, when two venerable senators, Manlius and Fulvius, very seasonably interposed, and, throwing themselves at the tribune's feet, prevailed upon him to submit his law to the judgement of the fathers. This was making the senators judges in their own cause: but Gracchus thought the law so just, that he could not persuade himself they would reject it; and, if they did, he knew that the incensed multitude would no longer keep any measures with them †.

Gracchus suspends all the magistrates from their functions.

Submits his law to the judgement of the senate.

The senate, who wanted to gain time, affected delays, and did not come to any resolution. A few among them were for paying some regard to the complaints of the tribune, and for sacrificing their own interest to the relief of the distressed. The far greater part would not hear of any composition. In consequence of this obstinacy, Gracchus brought the affair again before the people, and earnestly entreated his colleague Octavius to drop his opposition, in compassion to the many unfortunate people for whom he interceded. He reminded him of their ancient friendship; took him by the hand, and affectionately embraced him. Octavius was inflexible. Gracchus, provoked by this repulse, resolved to deprive Octavius of his tribuneship, since he obstinately withstood the desires of the whole body of so great a people. Having therefore assembled the people, he told them, that, since his colleague and he were divided in opinion, and the republic suffered by their division, it was the province of the tribes assembled in comitia to re-establish concord among their

Brings it again before the people.

† Plut. in Gracch. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. i. p. 355. Liv. Epit. lib. lviii.

tribunes: "If the cause I maintain (said he) be, in your opinion, unjust, I am ready to give up my seat in the college; on the contrary, if you judge me worthy of being continued in your service in this station, deprive him of the tribuneship who alone obstructs my wishes. As soon as you shall have nominated one to succeed him, the law will pass without opposition." So saying he dismissed the assembly, after having summoned them to meet again next day.

Accordingly the people being assembled in great crowds on this extraordinary occasion, Gracchus made new applications to Octavius; but to no purpose; he persisted in his opposition. Then Gracchus, turning to the people, "Judge you, (said he), which of us deserves to be deprived of his office." At these words the first tribe voted, and declared for the deposition of Octavius. Upon which Gracchus, suspending the ardour of the tribes, made another effort to bring over his opponent by gentle methods; but all his endeavours proving ineffectual, the other tribes voted in their turns, and followed the example of the first. Of five-and-thirty tribes, seventeen had already declared against Octavius, and the eighteenth was just going to determine the affair, when Gracchus, willing to try once more whether he could reclaim his colleague, suspended the collecting of the suffrages; and addressing Octavius in the most pressing terms, conjured him not to expose himself to so great a disgrace, nor to give him the grief of having cast a blemish upon his colleague and friend, which neither time nor merit would ever wipe off. "Hearken, dear Octavius, (said he), hearken rather to the advice of a faithful friend than to a factious cabal, who are interested to seduce you. Be persuaded to follow the inclinations of the Roman people. It is still in your power to reconcile yourself to them, and gain their affections for ever." Octavius could not hear these words without concern. He is said to have wept, and to have continued some time in suspense; but having unluckily cast his eyes on the senators there present, he was ashamed to break his promise; and therefore, resuming his former steadiness, he boldly answered Tiberius, that he might go on with the work he had begun. At these words, the eighteenth tribe voted, Octavius was deposed, and the law passed in its original severity: for Gracchus was now so flouted by opposition, that he would no longer admit of the mitigation he had at first proposed. The deposed tribune was dragged from the rostra by the incensed multitude,

*Octavius
deposed,
and the
law passed.*

tude, who would have insulted him farther, had not the senators, and his friends, facilitated his escape.

The Licinian law being thus revived with the consent both of the city and country tribes, Gracchus caused the people to appoint triumvirs, or three commissioners, to hasten its execution. In this commission the people gave Gracchus the first place, and he had interest enough to get his father-in-law Appius Claudius, and his brother Caius Gracchus, appointed to be his colleagues. These three employed the summer in travelling through all the Italian provinces, to examine the lands that were to be divided among the poor citizens. When Gracchus returned from his progress, finding his chief agent had been poisoned in his absence, he seized this occasion to implore the protection of the people. The populace, more attached to their hero than ever, declared they would support him to the last drop of their blood; and this their zeal encouraged him to add a new clause to the law; importing, that the commissioners should likewise enquire, what lands had been usurped from the republic. After all, upon a strict enquiry, he found that the lands taken from the rich would not be enough to content all the poor citizens. But the following accident removed this difficulty, and enabled him to stop the murmurs of the malcontents.

Commissioners appointed to hasten its execution.

Gracchus adds a new clause.

Attalus Philometor, king of Pergamus, having bequeathed his dominions and effects to the Romans, Eudemus, the Pergamean, brought his treasures to Rome at this juncture; and Gracchus immediately got a law passed, enacting, that this money should be divided among the poor citizens, who could not have lands; and that the disposal of the revenues of Pergamus should not be in the senate, but in the comitia. Gracchus, being now, by his power over the minds of the multitude, absolute master of their suffrages, formed a design of raising his father-in-law Appius Claudius to the consulate next year, of promoting his brother Caius to the tribuneship, and procuring himself to be continued in the same office, which rendered his person sacred and inviolable. As the senate was active in endeavouring to get such only elected into the college of tribunes, as were enemies to Gracchus and his faction, the tribune left no method untried to secure his election. He told the people, that the rich had resolved to assassinate him as soon as he was out of his

Gracchus divides the treasures of king Attalus among the people.

Solicits the tribuneship for another year.

office; he appeared in mourning, as was the custom in the greatest calamities; and, bringing his children, yet young, into the forum, recommended them to the people in such terms, as shewed, that he despaired of his own preservation. At this sight the populace returned no answer, but by exclamations and menaces against the rich.

On the day appointed for the election of new tribunes, the people were ordered to assemble in the Capitol in the great court before the temple of Jupiter. The tribes being met, Gracchus proposed his petition, entreating the people to continue him one year longer in the office of tribune, in consideration of the great danger to which he was exposed, the rich having vowed his destruction as soon as his tribuneship should expire. This was indeed an unusual request; however, the tribes began to vote, and the two first declared for Gracchus. Hereupon the rich made great clamours, and some of their faction, who were posted in different places, cried out, "Justice, justice! these men are going to overturn all the laws. No man can hold the office of tribune two years together." These clamours terrified Rubrius Varro, who presided in the college of tribunes, to such a degree, that he resigned his place to Q. Mummius, who offered to preside in his room. But this resignation raised a tumult among the tribunes themselves, some pretending that the president had no right to dispose of his place, which it belonged to the whole college to do by a majority of votes. As the tribunes began to dispute the legality of this act with great warmth among themselves, Gracchus dismissed the assembly, and ordered them to meet again the next day.

The people, sensible of what importance it was to them to preserve the life of so powerful a protector, not only conducted him home, but watched by turns all night at his door. By break of day, Gracchus, having assembled his friends, led them from his house, and posted one half of them in the comitium, while he went up with the other to the Capitol. As soon as he appeared, the people saluted him with loud acclamations of joy. Scarce was he placed in his tribunal, when Fulvius Flaccus, a senator, and friend to Gracchus, breaking through the crowd, came up to him, and gave him notice, that the senators, who were assembled in the temple of Faith, almost contiguous to that of Jupiter Capitolinus, had conspired against his life, and were resolved to attack him

*Is informed
of a con-
spiracy
against his
life.*

* Plut. *ibid.* Appian de Bell. Civ. lib. i. p. 358.

openly on his very tribunal. Gracchus, on this intimation, tucked up his robe, as it were to prepare for battle; and, after his example, some of his party, seizing the staves of the apparitors, prepared to defend themselves, and to repel force by force. These preparations terrified the other tribunes, who immediately abandoned their places, and mixed with the crowd; while the priests ran to shut the gates of the temple, to prevent its being profaned. The friends of Gracchus, who were dispersed by parties in different places, cried out, "We are ready: what must we do?" Gracchus, whose voice could not be heard by all his adherents on account of the tumult, the clamours, and the confused cries of the different parties, raised his hand to his head; which was the signal agreed on to prepare for battle. Some of his enemies, putting a malicious construction upon that gesture, immediately flew to the senate, and told the fathers that the seditious tribune had called for the crown to be put upon his head. The senators, imagining they already saw the king of Pergamus's diadem on the tribune's head, and the royal mantle on his shoulders, resolved to give the consul leave to arm his legions, to treat the friends of Gracchus as enemies, and turn the comitium into a field of battle.

*Resolves to
repel force
by force.*

The consul *Mutius Scævola*, a prudent and moderate man, refused to be the instrument of their rash revenge, and to dishonour his consulate with the massacre of a disarmed people. *Calpurnius Piso*, the other consul, being in Sicily, the most turbulent among the senators cried out, "Since one of our consuls is absent, and the other betrays the republic, let us do ourselves justice; let us immediately demolish with our own hands this idol of the people." *Scipio Nasica* inveighed bitterly against the consul, for refusing to succour the republic in her greatest distress: he was the great-grandson of *Cneius Scipio*, the uncle of the first *Africanus*, and consequently cousin to the *Gracchi* by their mother *Cornelia*; but not one of the senators betrayed a more irreconcilable hatred against the tribune. When the prudent consul refused to arm his legions, and put the adherents of Gracchus to death, contrary to the usual forms of justice, he set no bounds to his fury, but rising up from his place, exclaimed, "Since our consul betrays us, let those who love the republic follow me." Having uttered these words, he walked out of the temple, attended by a great number of senators.

*The consul
Scævola
refuses to
arm his
legions.*

Nasica

*A fray
ensues.*

Nasica threw his robe over his shoulders, and, having covered his head with it, advanced with his followers into the crowd, where he was joined by a company of the clients and friends of the patricians, armed with staves and clubs. These, falling indiscriminately upon all who stood in their way, dispersed the crowd. Many of Gracchus's party fled; and in the tumult all the seats being overturned and broken, Nasica, armed with the leg of a broken bench, knocked down all who opposed him, and at length reached Gracchus. One of his party seized the tribune by the lappet of his robe; but he, quitting his gown, fled in his tunic: but endeavouring to leap over the broken benches, had the misfortune to fall. As he attempted to rise, he received a blow on the head, which stunned him: then his adversaries, rushing in upon him, with repeated blows put an end to his life^t (D).

*Gracchus
killed.*

*His cha-
racter.*

Rome was by his death delivered, according to Cicero, from a domestic enemy more formidable to her than even that Numantia, which had first kindled his resentments. Perhaps no man was ever born with greater talents, or more capable of aggrandizing himself, and doing honour to his country; but his great mind, his manly courage, his lively, easy, and powerful eloquence, were, says Tully, like a sword in the hands of a madman. Gracchus abused them, not in supporting an unjust cause, but in conducting a good one with too much violence. Most writers ascribe his first design of reviving the Licinian law to a desire of being revenged on the senators for the affront they had unjustly put upon him, and the consul Mancinus. The law he attempted to revive had an air of justice, which gave a sanction to his revenge, without casting any blemish on his reputation.

*His friends
persecuted.*

The death of Gracchus did not end the tumult. Above three hundred of the tribune's friends lost their lives in the fray, and their bodies were thrown, with that of Gracchus, into the Tiber. The senate carried their revenge beyond the fatal day, which had stained the Capitol with Roman blood: they fought for all the friends of the

^t Plut. *ibid.* Appian. *ibid.* p. 358. Flor. *lib.* iii. cap. 4.

(D) Some historians pretend, that Nasica, with his own hand, completed the work which had been begun by his advice, and under his conduct. Others say, that Publius Sa-

tureius, and Lucius Rubrius, or, as Plutarch calls him, Lucius Rufus, two of his colleagues, secretly jealous of his glory, gave him the two blows that dispatched him.

late tribune, and, without any form of law, assassinated some, and forced others into banishment. Caius Billius, one of the most zealous defenders of the people, was seized by his enemies, and shut up in a cask with snakes and vipers, where he miserably perished. Though the laws prohibited any citizen to take away the life of another before he had been legally condemned, Nasica and his followers were acquitted by the senate, who enacted a decree, justifying all the cruelties committed against Gracchus and his adherents^u.

The cruel death of Caius Billius.

The conscript fathers, however, fearing that Scipio's presence would occasion sedition, thought proper to remove him; and accordingly sent him, under pretence of an embassy, into Asia, though his office of pontifex maximus obliged him not to go out of Italy. He rambled about, in different parts of the Levant, till, exhausted with trouble, he died at Pergamus. By his absence the fire of sedition was rather stifled than extinguished. The people still maintained the law which Gracchus had passed in their favour, and nominated a new commissioner in his room, to finish the distribution of the lands which he had begun. The person they named was P. Crassus, whose daughter Caius Gracchus, brother to Tiberius, had lately married. The patricians, to prevent the execution of the law, found means to bring into the college of tribunes a creature of their own, Q. Pompeius Rufus, one of Gracchus's most violent enemies. The consular year being almost expired, the election was made without any disturbance in the usual place, and the supreme magistracy conferred on Publius Popilius Lænas, and P. Rupilius. It fell to the lot of Popilius to continue in Italy, and keep the citizens of Rome in awe, while his colleague set out for Sicily, to make war with the revolted slaves in that island.

Scipio is sent into Asia.

In Sicily the great men of the island, or the Roman knights who had the management of the public revenues, having engrossed the great estates, out of avarice employed, in the culture of their lands, slaves instead of freemen, to whom they scarce allowed necessaries; so that those unfortunate men, being obliged to provide for themselves, learnt to live by rapine. As they frequently met in companies to plunder the houses in the country, or to rob the travellers on the great roads, they proceeded

The war of the slaves in Sicily.

^u Plut. in Gracch. Appian. ibid. Oros. lib. v. cap. 3. Cic. de Off. lib. i. cap. 21. & de Orat. lib. ii.

to deliberate how to deliver themselves from slavery. They were almost as numerous as the natives; and therefore wanted only a leader to appear at their head, and conduct the conspiracy. A Sicilian lord, named Antigæus, had amongst his slaves one Eunus, very fit for this purpose. He was a native of Apamea, in Syria; and, having been taken prisoner, had passed through the hands of several masters, till he was brought into Sicily. He was a vigilant, active man, full of fire; and, pretending to have an intercourse with the gods by dreams and apparitions, was consulted by his fellow-slaves as an oracle.

*Occasioned
by the
cruelty of
their
masters.*

The Sicilians in general exercised a kind of tyranny over their slaves; but a citizen of Enna, named Damophilus, had made himself more odious than the rest by his cruelties to a great number of those unhappy men, who cultivated his immense possessions. They were all marked with a hot iron in their foreheads, shut up every night in close prisons, and led out early in the morning to their daily labour in the fields, though they were scarce allowed the necessary provisions for their sustenance. Megallis, the wife of Damophilus, was no less cruel towards the slaves of her sex, exacting their tasks with insupportable rigour, and causing them to be unmercifully scourged for the least fault. These two tyrants had a daughter of a very different disposition: though very young, she pitied the afflicted; she often alleviated their sufferings; appeased her furious mother; supplied, as far as she was able, the wants of the necessitous; and, in short, was the only refuge of those unhappy men. The slaves, unable to bear any longer the unspeakable miseries they groaned under, entered into a plot against the authors of them; but, to secure themselves success, they first went to consult Eunus, who, with a solemn prophetic tone, pronounced, that the enterprize was agreeable to the gods; and that it would be attended with success, provided they did not delay the execution of it. He offered to conduct it himself; and the slaves were overjoyed to have such a man at their head. They assembled in great haste, to the number of four hundred, on Damophilus's estate, armed with forks, hooks, and other instruments of husbandry; and, marching directly to Enna, surprised and pillaged it. The slaves in the city joined them, and committed barbarities not to be expressed. As Damophilus was gone with his wife and daughter to take the air in a garden near the city, Eunus, who had taken upon

*They plot
against
their
masters.*

*Eunus
heads the
revolled
slaves,
and seizes
Enna.*

upon him the office of general, sent a party to seize them, and they were seized accordingly, with circumstances of great barbarity. However, they treated the daughter with all the respect which was due to her virtue. So true it is, that good-nature commands regard even from the most furious *.

Eunus, being now master of Enna, assembled the slaves in the public theatre; and having erected there a kind of tribunal, commanded Damophilus and his wife to be brought before him, in order to be tried. Some of the slaves were accusers, others witnesses, and the multitude judges. Eunus presided, and gave the accused leave to speak in their defence. While Damophilus was endeavouring to raise compassion, and some began to shew pity for him, Hermias and Zeuxis, two of his slaves, whom he had treated with great cruelty, came up to him, and, with repeated blows, dispatched him. His wife Megallis was sentenced to be delivered up to the slaves of her own sex, whom she had treated without mercy: these furies set no bounds to their cruelty; inflicted on their mistress every torment which revenge could invent; and, after having satiated their rage, threw her down a precipice, where she was dashed in pieces. The daughter was treated with the utmost respect, conducted with the unanimous consent of all to Catania, and there delivered untouched into the hands of her relations.

Damophilus condemned and executed by the slaves.

In the mean time Eunus, finding he could not maintain an authority over such people, without being invested with sovereign power, prevailed upon the multitude to proclaim him king. The first orders the new monarch gave were very cruel: he caused all the inhabitants of Enna to be barbarously murdered, saying, that there could never be any real concord between freemen and slaves. After this massacre, having got into his power Antigines and Pithon, who had successively been his masters, he put them to death with his own hand: he then assumed all the ensigns of royalty, changed his name of Eunus into that of Antiochus, gave the title of queen to his wife, who was a Syrian, and a slave as well as himself, and applied himself to settle a kind of government among his new subjects. His regulations drew above six thousand slaves to Enna in less than three days, armed with such weapons as they could procure. At the head of these Eunus took

Eunus proclaimed king.

His cruelty.

* Liv. Epit. lib. lvi. Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 19.

the field, and committed dreadful ravages. The people whose houses were burnt, and lands laid waste, came in flocks to the Roman prætor, who governed the island, imploring his assistance.

*He gains
advan-
tages over
the præ-
tors.*

It was in the year of Rome 611 that this tumult began; Didius being then prætor of Sicily. Manlius, who succeeded him in 612, marched against the rebels with one legion, the usual army of prætors, who resided in peaceable provinces; but he was defeated, and his camp taken and plundered. The same misfortune happened to the prætors P. Cornelius Lentulus and Caius Calpurnius Piso, whom the republic sent into the island the two following years. The report of these advantages being spread all over the island, the new king's forces daily increased. Among the rest Cleon, a native of Cilicia, joined him with five thousand men; others came from the most distant parts of the island, at the head of considerable bodies, to support, under the banners of Eunus, the common cause; insomuch that when the prætor L. Plautius Hypsæus landed in Sicily, in the year of Rome 615, he found above seventy thousand slaves in arms under the command of Eunus, besides those who had assembled under other leaders in different places; so that the whole number of armed slaves in the island amounted to two hundred thousand. As Hypsæus had only eight thousand men, he no sooner appeared in the field than he was attacked, and entirely defeated.

*C. Fulvius
sent against
the slaves.*

The rebels, elated with this victory, laid siege to Taurominium, a city of great strength; and having soon reduced it, made it their magazine of arms, and place of refuge. At length the republic, alarmed at the progress the rebels made, ordered C. Fulvius, colleague in the consulate to the second Africanus, to suppress this conspiracy, which began now to be formidable. But whether he gained any advantages over the rebels, history has not informed us. In the following year 616, the consul L. Calpurnius Piso, to whose lot Sicily fell, attacked the Syrians (for so the rebellious slaves were commonly called) under the walls of Messina, which city they had invested, put them to the route for the first time, obliged them to raise the siege, and killed above six thousand of them on the spot.

*Defeats
them in the
field.*

Though Piso conquered the rebels, he did not entirely reduce them. This was reserved for P. Rupilius, chosen consul for the present year 617. He opened the campaign

paign with the siege of Taurominium. As this city was situated on a high and steep hill, and difficult of access on all sides, the consul resolved to reduce it by famine. With this view, he drew a line of circumvallation round the mountain; and by that contrivance, cut off all communication with the neighbouring country. As the garrison was very numerous, provisions began to fail them; and then want, added to their obstinacy, produced many tragical events. They killed and devoured one another; but, as they could expect no pardon, still continued obstinate. At length the city was betrayed to the Romans by a Syrian slave, named Serapion; and the governor with all his garrison were, by the consul's orders, thrown down from the top of a rock. From Taurominium the consul led his army to Enna, where the pretended king had shut himself up with Cleon, and the flower of his troops. The place, likewise, Rupilius resolved to reduce by famine; and accordingly invested it on all sides. The besieged made several sallies, attempting to break through the enemy; but though they fought like men in despair, they were constantly repulsed by the Romans. In one of these sallies, Cleon fell alive into the consul's hands, covered with wounds and blood; but did not long survive his captivity. His impaled body was exposed to the view of the besieged, to increase their terror. At length Enna was likewise treacherously delivered up to the consul, whose troops put all the slaves they found in the place to the sword. We are told, that at the reduction of these two cities above twenty thousand of the rebels lost their lives.

Taurominium betrayed to the Romans;

and also Enna.

Eunus, when he saw the Romans masters of the walls, put himself at the head of his guards, consisting of about six hundred men, forced his way through the legionaries, fled for refuge to a steep rock, and there determined to fight to the last extremity. He was closely pursued, and surrounded in his retreat by the consular troops; and then it appeared, that there was more ostentation than true courage in his servile soul. The soldiers of his guard agreed to kill one another; but their king concealed himself among the rocks, and was at last taken alive out of a cave, with four of his domestics, and delivered up to the consul, who sent them to Murgantia, to be strictly guarded there, till the departure of the Roman army. Rupilius reserved Eunus, not so much to grace his triumph, as to shew the Romans the chief they had so much dreaded; but he fell sick, and died in prison, worn out with grief,

Eunus taken prisoner.

He dies in prison.

and devoured with vermin^r. Rupilius continued in Sicily, in quality of proconsul; retook the cities which were still in the hands of the rebels; restored the fugitive slaves to their masters; and, lastly, drew up a new code of laws for the Sicilians, which were ever after observed, to the satisfaction of the whole island. Having settled his province in peace, he returned to Rome; but refused a triumph, being ashamed to have it recorded in the triumphal tables, that he had overcome slaves. He was one of those great and disinterested men, who retained the virtue of the first ages of Rome. The only glory he sought was that of promoting the public good; and the only reward he desired was the consciousness of having served his country^z.

Two plebeians chosen censors.

During the war in Sicily, Andronicus, the illegitimate son of Eumenes, laid claim to the kingdom of Pergamus, which Attalus was said to have bequeathed to the Romans; and having seized it, put himself in a condition to maintain a war with Rome, which we have described in our history of the kingdom of Pergamus. Next year P. Licinius Crassus and Valerius Flaccus were chosen consuls; the former was pontifex maximus, and the latter flamen Martialis, that is, *high priest of Mars*; so that Rome was now for the first time governed by two persons devoted to the service of the gods. This same year two plebeians, Q. Cæcilius Metellus, surnamed Macedonicus, and Q. Pompeius, were chosen censors. It had been a custom in Rome for two hundred and twenty years, to choose one of the censors out of the plebeians; but now the patricians, probably to soften the people, suffered them to raise two of their body to this dignity. In the census which these plebeians took of the citizens of Rome, they found three hundred and seventeen thousand eight hundred and twenty-three men able to bear arms; and their censorship was famous for a law, obliging all the Romans to marry at a certain age.

New disturbances about the Sempronian law.

The disturbances about the Sempronian law were continued by the tribune Carbo, who was continually complaining to the people of the chicaneries of the rich in opposing the execution of it. One day he publicly asked the great Scipio Africanus what he thought of the murder of Sempronius Gracchus, his brother-in-law, not doubting that he would condemn the authors of his death; but,

^r Diodor. Sicul. in Eclog. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 19. Front. Strat. lib. iv. cap. 1. Val. Max. lib. ii. cap. 7. & lib. iv. cap. 3. Cic. Pro. Fonteio, & in Verr. act. vi.

^z Cic. in Verr. act. ii.

to his great surprize, Scipio answered, that if Gracchus had endeavoured to sow discord in the republic, he thought him lawfully put to death. Upon this unexpected answer, the tribune excited the people to insult the most venerable man in Rome. Scipio, assuming an ascendent over the multitude, "Be silent, (said he), ye untractable people. Think ye that I am afraid of your murmurs, who have so often been unconcerned at the fury of your enemies?" At these words the unruly multitude began to hiss; and he proceeded to this effect: "Miserable people! what would have become of you, had it not been for my father Paulus Æmilius, and myself? You would have been enslaved by your enemies, and spent your unhappy lives in a state of subjection. Is this the respect you owe your deliverers? Is this your gratitude?" These words, uttered with that authority which the long command of armies gives a general, silenced the multitude, and made the most seditious tremble like slaves. The comitia were immediately dissolved, and every one returned to his own home, overawed by the character of the great Scipio. Soon after this insult he retired to one of his country-houses at Caieta, with his friend Lælius. There these two friends, who had discharged with glory the highest offices in the republic, amused themselves with the same little innocent pleasures which had diverted them when children. They walked by the sea-side, entertained themselves with picking up smooth flat stones, and throwing them on the surface of the water; and enjoyed more pleasure in this retirement, than they had ever tasted at the head of the republic, and her armies ^a.

Scipio insulted by the populace.

In the mean time Carbo, having prevailed upon the people to continue him in his office another year, proposed a law, enacting, that the same persons should hold the tribuneship during the pleasure of the people, without coming to an annual election; but Scipio and Lælius, upon the report of this new storm, hastening to Rome, opposed the law with all their interest, and it was rejected. In the following consulato of Claudius Pulcher and M. Perperna, a soldier of fortune, who was not even a Roman citizen, if Valerius Maximus is to be credited ^b, the disturbances in Rome were increased by the tribunes. Caius Atinius Labeo, who was at the head of the college, seized Q. Cæcilius Metellus the censor, who had refused

A law proposed to continue the tribunes in office during the pleasure of the people.

^a Cic. de Orat. lib. i.

^b Val. Max. lib. iii. esp. 4

him a place in the senate, and immediately pronounced sentence of death upon him, commanding his attendants to throw him headlong from the Tarpeian rock. The officers having seized that venerable magistrate, and treated him with the utmost barbarity, one of his slaves flew to acquaint his master's relations with this outrage; and when they came they found the censor near dead. As it was not lawful to take even the nearest relation out of the hands of a tribune, they with all possible speed brought one of Labeo's colleagues, who opposed the unjust sentence, and rescued Metellus from immediate death. Without this timely assistance the most considerable magistrate in Rome, after the consul, the triumphant victor, and conqueror of Macedon, whence he had the glorious surname of Macedonicus, would have been executed like a common criminal. Labeo was so far from being punished for this cruel insult on Metellus, that he had interest to get a law passed, enacting, that for the future the tribunes should all have votes in the senate. This law being passed, he went in state to the forum; and there, by sound of trumpet, ordered all the effects of the great Macedonicus to be sold to the best bidder.

Yr. of Fl.

2219.

Ante Chr.

129

U. C. 619.

A law allowing the tribunes votes in the senate.

New troubles on account of the Sempronian law.

In the next consulate of C. Sempronius Tuditanus and M. Aquilius, new troubles were raised on account of the Sempronian law. The commissioners for putting it in execution were continually inflaming the people by their complaints; and the allies of the republic complained as much of the injustice of the commissioners, who, in the distribution of the lands, were more favourable to the inhabitants of Rome, whose votes might be of service to them, than to the people of the provinces. Scipio, therefore, took the latter under his protection; and, having spoken warmly in favour of these poor allies, got the execution of the law transferred from the three commissioners to the consul Sempronius: but the consul, dreading the consequences of civil broils at home as much as he loved the glory of arms abroad, set out for Japidia, one of the western provinces of Illyricum, which had fallen to him by lot, to quell some disturbances lately raised in that country.

Scipio charged by the tribunes with odious designs.

Scipio, thus left alone to withstand the hatred of the three commissioners, was charged by them with the most odious designs. That of aspiring to the dictatorship was probably true^a; but it was no just reproach to him,

^a Varro apud Aul. Gell. lib. xiv. cap. 2. Cic. pro Domo sua.
^d Cic. in Somn. Scipion.

though

though he was greatly calumniated for it by the commissioners and their adherents. C. Gracchus, his brother-in-law, told him, that he ought to be put to death as a tyrant. Scipio calmly replied, "There is scarce any man, who is not an enemy to his country, that desires it." Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, one of the triumvirs, cast the most bitter reflections upon Scipio, censured his public and private conduct, and warmly insisted, that the dictatorship was his point in view, and that he desired this dignity in order to usurp a perpetual tyranny. Nevertheless the senate and people seemed inclined to favour Scipio's motion; the partiality of the triumvirs in the distribution of the lands being very palpable. All the senators, and vast crowds both of Roman citizens and allies, attended him to his house. Rome seemed determined to nominate him dictator the next day; but in the morning, to the great grief and surprize of all well-wishers to their country, he was found dead in his bed. Those who viewed his body more narrowly discovered the marks of a violent death about his neck, as if he had been strangled. His death was, upon good grounds, imputed to the triumvirs Papirius Carbo, C. Gracchus, and Fulvius Flaccus, and to his wife Sempronia, the sister of the Gracchi, who is said to have conveyed in the night the triumvirs into his room. The authors of the crime took great pains to spread a report, that Scipio, finding he could not obtain for the allies the advantages he had promised them, had laid violent hands on himself.

*The death
of Scipio.*

Thus died this illustrious hero, whose talents and exploits were so equal to those of the first Africanus, that Rome could not determine which was superior in merit. Their characters, their conduct, their tempers, and their honours were equally great; and, to the eternal reproach of their country, one died with grief in a kind of exile, and the other a violent death in Rome. The second Africanus died possessed of very little more than the glory of his exploits; for he left to Quintus Fabius Maximus, his nephew and heir, scarce thirty-two pounds weight of silver, and two pounds and a half of gold: surprising poverty in a general who might have enriched himself with the spoils of Carthage! The patricians wept for him as for a father. When Metellus, who had been his rival for glory, heard the news of his death, he expressed the utmost concern; and turning to his two sons, "Go, (said he), attend the funeral of the greatest man Rome ever bred: you will never see his equal." The people

His character.

lamented his death, and attended his body to the funeral pile; but they would not suffer any enquiries to be made after the authors of his death, for fear of finding C. Gracchus, who now began to be their favourite, concerned in so base and treacherous a murder *.

*Japidia
quieted in
one cam-
paign.*

During these transactions, the consul Tuditanus waged war in Japidia, where he was attended with such success, that in one campaign he quieted the whole country, and, upon his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph; as was likewise his colleague Aquilius, three years after, for reducing the kingdom of Pergamus, though he did it by poisoning the springs, which supplied the several towns with water; a most execrable and inhuman breach of the law of nations. There was not now the least disturbance in any of the provinces subject to the Roman republic. Cisalpine Gaul, Spain, Africa, Istria, Illyricum, Macedon, and Greece, bore the yoke with great submission; so that there was no expedition for the new consuls, Cn. Octavius and T. Annius, to undertake within or without Italy. The people gave themselves up to pleasures and luxury in this time of tranquillity; which licentiousness greatly increased in the succeeding consulate of L. Cassius Longinus and L. Cornelius Cinna: but when M. Æmilius Lepidus and L. Aurelius Orestes were raised to the consular dignity, this general tranquillity was a little interrupted by a revolt in Sardinia, which province fell to the lot of Aurelius; and Caius Gracchus was his quæstor.

*Caius
Gracchus
favour'd
by the peo-
ple.*

This young Roman was become the idol of the people, who, after the death of his brother, looked upon him as their chief patron and protector. He had some very eminent qualities, and was deemed the best orator in Rome. The multitude adored him on account of his favouring the citizens of Rome more than the allies, in the partition of the lands. He had, for some time, retired from public life, and applied himself to the study of eloquence. During his retirement, the republic enjoyed a profound tranquillity; and it was commonly said, that he had resolved to bury his talents in obscurity for fear of his brother's fate; but, after two years retirement, he unexpectedly appeared upon the stage, and stood for the quæstorship, which he obtained. In that quality, he attended the consul Aurelius into Sardinia, where he signalized his courage, and obliged all who depended upon him in the dis-

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. i. Cid. in Lælio, & pro Muræna. Plut. in Romul. & Gracc. Diodor. Sicul. in Excerpt.

charge of his office. He gained the affection of his general by his punctuality, ready obedience, and the great services he rendered him in supplying the army with cloaths and provisions, by the interest he had among the Sardinians, who were much pleased with his temperance, modesty, and obliging carriage ^f.

He gains the affection of the soldiery.

The senate, in the mean time, growing jealous of the popularity Gracchus acquired in the army, and dreading the consequences of it, ordered all the troops in Sardinia to be recalled, and fresh forces to be sent in their room. Next year the patricians had the mortification to see Fulvius Flaccus, who had been one of the triumvirs for the partition of the lands, raised to the consulship: his colleague was Plautius Hypsæus, a patrician of a mild and pacific disposition. The plebeian consul had no sooner entered upon his office, than he proposed a law, enacting, that the right of Roman citizenship should be granted to all the Italian allies, to whom the triumvirs had not been able to assign any share in the divided lands. He had, when one of the triumvirs, exasperated the people in the provinces, by not admitting them to an equal share of lands with the inhabitants of Rome; and now, by this law, he endeavoured to conciliate their affection. He supported it with a fury, which shewed him determined to exasperate the senate. The patricians intreated him to drop the law, which could not fail of being attended with dangerous consequences, and might kindle a war in the bowels of Italy. The imperious consul did not vouchsafe to give them an answer; so that there was reason to fear an immediate rupture ^g.

Law proposed, granting the Roman citizenship to the Italian allies.

A new incident intervened, which kept the republic for some time in tranquillity. Ambassadors came from Massilia, desiring the assistance of the Romans against the Salyes, a people near Aix in Provence, who had ravaged their country. This application gave the senate an opportunity of sending Fulvius beyond the Alps; and he, being greedy of glory, readily accepted the commission. His absence, and that of Gracchus, might have given the republic an interval of rest, if the seditious consul had not, before he left Rome, sown the seeds of a rebellion, which broke out as soon as he was gone; for the Italian allies, having by his departure lost all hopes of obtaining the right of citizenship, with which he had flattered them, entered into cabals against the republic. Fregellæ, a city

Fulvius sent against the Salyes.

Fregellæ rebels, and is raised.

^f Liv. Epit. lib. lx. Plut. in Gracch. ^g Plut. ibid.

of the Volsci on the Liris, was the first that openly revolted. Numitorius Pullus, the chief author of the rebellion, being cited before the prætor, and frightened into a discovery of the whole plot, a Roman army was sent against the city, which, by the advice of Numitorius, submitted; but, nevertheless, was immediately rased. Numitorius was pardoned; but all his accomplices were condemned to die, and executed. The exemplary punishment of the Fregellani checked the boldness of the malcontents, and stifled the sedition for some time^a.

C. Gracchus returns from Sardinia without the consul's leave.

All seemed quiet when C. Cassius Longinus and C. Sextius Calvinus were raised to the consulate; but this calm was of short duration. C. Gracchus, who had been continued, much against his inclination, in Sardinia, with the character of proquæstor, being weary of his long stay in an island where his talents were buried, and fearing the affections of the people might cool by so long an absence, resolved to run all the hazards of a bold step. In open defiance of all law he embarked, without leave of the consul, left Sardinia, and, when least expected, appeared at Rome. He was therefore accused before the censors, but so far imposed upon the judges by his eloquence, that he was acquitted. The high esteem and great concern which the multitude shewed for him, encouraged him to stand for the tribuneship. He flattered himself, that if he could once obtain this important office, he should easily find means to maintain himself in it, and to execute all his schemes of revenge at leisure; he therefore appeared among the candidates, and solicited the office with the utmost diligence and application. These efforts rendered the senate more active in opposing him; and his mother Cornelia was very pressing with him to desist. She wrote to him from one of her country-houses in Campania, near cape Misenum, whither she had retired after the melancholy death of her eldest son, two very affecting letters upon this subject; in which she labours to divert him from his design with such tenderness both for him and her country, as shews her worthy of the statue which the senate permitted the people to erect to her memory. But neither her intreaties nor commands could prevail; he pursued his point, and succeeded. There was this circumstance peculiar to his election, that, for want of room in the Campus Martius, a great number

Is chosen tribune.

^a Liv. Epit. Appian. lib. i. de Bell. Civil. Val. Max. lib. ix. cap. 5. Jul. Obseq. Cic. de Inven. lib. ii. de Finib. lib. ii. in Pison. & ad Heren. lib. iv.

of the citizens climbed upon the roofs of the houses round it, and from thence voted for Gracchus with shouts and acclamations. His graceful person, noble air, fine features, and modest deportment, prepossessioned every spectator in his favour before he spoke; and when he did speak, their ears were no less charmed, for a more complete orator had never ascended the rostra¹ (E). Soon after the election of Gracchus to the tribuneship, his fellow-triumvir, Fulvius Placcus, returned from Gaul to second him in his attempts. He was a furious plebeian, a declared enemy to the senate and the rich, and ready to embark in any bold and desperate undertaking. Gracchus procured him a triumph for an expedition of little importance, in order to bring new honour and strength to his party by the addition of a consular man, and a triumphant victor².

Thus all things seemed to tend to a sedition in Rome, when Q. Cæcilius Metellus and T. Quinctius Flaminius were chosen consuls. The former was sent into the Balearic islands to quell an insurrection there, and the latter continued at Rome, where Gracchus was inventing schemes to depress the senate and exalt the people. He got his brother's law confirmed, relating to the division of the lands of Italy between the citizens of Rome and the indigent allies; and, for the more speedy execution of it, caused himself to be nominated one of the commissioners for the partition, in conjunction with Fulvius Placcus and Licinius Crassus, who seems to have been the brother of his wife Licinia. With the assistance of these, he undertook and performed several works in favour

His new laws.

¹ Cic. lib. ii. de Orat.
p. 362.

² Plut. in Gracch. Appian. ibid.

(E) The only fault imputed to him was too much vehemence, when he suffered passion to transport him. The orator, who was himself well apprised of this defect, chose out, from among his slaves, an excellent musician, whom he kept constantly behind him when he was speaking. If in a fit of passion the orator happened to raise his voice too much, the slave, with a sort of flageolet, brought him back to his proper key. So much care did the Romans take, when they spoke in public, to give their speeches all possible graces. But Gracchus never appeared more eloquent than when he lamented the tragical end of his brother. As he was affected with it himself, his descriptions were so strong and lively, that they drew tears from every eye (1).

(1) Cic. de Orat. lib. iii.

of the people. For the convenience of travellers he repaired the great roads, built many bridges, erected the first miliary columns, or columns at the end of each mile, and placed stones at proper distances, for the ease of travellers in mounting their horses. These public works gained him the affection of the people; but the laws which he passed were more agreeable to the multitude than any public works. The first was, that public granaries should be built at Rome, and filled with corn at the public expence; the second, that monthly distributions should be made from thence to every citizen who wanted corn, at a very low price. In order to enable the treasury to bear this expence, duties were laid on all the goods imported into Asia at the ports devised to the republic by king Attalus¹. He passed several other laws relating to the service and clothing of the troops, which were so agreeable to the people, that the tribune gained an absolute ascendant over them, and became despotic master of Rome. This influence could not but raise the jealousy of the patricians, who united all their interest to crush him as soon as his office should expire. To prevent this catastrophe, Flaccus pressed him to solicit the tribuneship a second time; which he did accordingly, and succeeded, in opposition to the utmost efforts of the senate, and the whole body of the nobility^m.

Yr. of Fl.

226,
Ante Chr.322.
U. C. 626.

*The Bale-
ric islands
subdued:*

*and the
Salyes in
Transal-
pine Gaul.*

While Gracchus was thus employed in humbling the senate, the consul Metellus, landing in the Balearic islands, subdued them, and treated those poor helpless barbarians with such cruelty, that, out of thirty thousand, he scarce left one thousand of them alive. After this bloody and easy victory, the consul built two cities in the larger island, one to the east, called Palma, now Majorca; the other to the west, named Pollentia, now no longer in being. To people these two places the consul brought three thousand Romans from the colonies on the continent of Spain. After having taken these measures he returned to Rome, where he triumphed, and was honoured with the surname of Balearicus, as his father had been with that of Macedonicus. The proconsul Sextius, who had been continued in Transalpine Gaul, having gained a complete victory over the Salyes, found no difficulty in subduing the whole nation; he besieged their capital, which stood at a small distance from Massilia, or

¹ Liv. Epit. lib. lx. Vell. Pat. lib. ii. Appian. ibid. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 15, ^m Plut. in Gracch. Sallust. in Frag.

Marseilles, took it, and reduced the inhabitants to slavery. When the conquered came to be sold, the proconsul, being informed that one of them, named Crato, had suffered much from his countrymen on account of his affection to the Romans, he not only gave him his liberty, and restored to him all his effects, but allowed him to choose out nine hundred among his countrymen, who were, at his request, set at liberty^a. To secure his new conquest, he founded a colony in the place where he had gained his victory, choosing a spot of ground for this purpose which abounded both with hot and cold springs. Here he built a new city, which, from the springs and his own name, he called Aquæ Sextiæ. This place, now known by the name of Aix, in Provence, he peopled with a colony which Rome had formerly planted at Fabrateria, in the country of the Volsci. Sextius, having thus settled the Romans in Transalpine Gaul, returned to Rome and triumphed^b.

Aquæ Sextiæ, or Aix, founded.

The consul found the republic in confusion on account of the innovations of Gracchus. The seditious tribune saw with concern, that the Roman knights, who were the most wealthy of the citizens, inclined more to the side of the nobility than to his; so that the plebeian party was made up only of the indigent populace. The knights were indeed reckoned a part of the plebeian body; but, as they were the richest of that order, they made alliances with the patricians, and, upon a division, generally sided with them. Gracchus, therefore, in order to detach them from the senate, drew up a law for making six hundred of them senators; but this law the crafty tribune proposed only to pave the way for another, which was in appearance more moderate, but in effect raised the knights above the senators. This was, to transfer from the senators to the knights the cognizance of all private causes, civil and criminal. The senators used their utmost efforts to get this law rejected; but Gracchus was absolute master of the suffrages of the people: so that the following plebiscitum passed by a great majority; "Let the judging of all private causes belong to the knights, exclusive of the senators." The tribune was so elated with this success, that he cried out in a transport of joy, "At length I have humbled the senate^c."

New troubles at Rome.

The knights made judges in all private causes.

^a Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xv. Vel. Pat. lib. i. cap. 15. Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Valef. ^b Strabo, lib. iv. Vell. Patern. lib. i. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 2. Liv. Epit. lib. lxi. ^c Appian. ibid. p. 362. Vell. Pat. lib. ii.

*Gracchus
causes the
seats in the
comitium to
be changed.*

*Opposed by
the consul
C. Fannius ;*

The favour which the people shewed him encouraged him to proceed so far as to solicit for the consulship, in such terms as led the people to conclude, that he intended to appear for it himself; but when the day of elections came, he entered the Campus Martius, leading his friend C. Fannius Strabo by the hand, whom he recommended to the favour of the people, saying, with a very engaging air, which he knew how to assume when he pleased, "If you confer the consulship on my friend, it is the same thing as if you conferred it upon me." This intimation was sufficient; Fannius was declared consul with Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus. It fell to the lot of the latter to carry on the war beyond the Alps, and to the former to continue in Italy. Gracchus, being raised to such a pitch of power and authority over the people of Rome, as the most absolute monarchs have over their subjects, in order to shew his contempt for the senate, caused the seats in the comitium to be changed. The plebeians had hitherto been so placed, that the orators who harangued them, at the same time faced the senate, and addressed themselves to that venerable body as well as to the people; but Gracchus, by altering the situation of the plebeians, contrived it so, that, when he harangued the people, he turned his back to the senators. This last outrage roused the senators, and impelled them to contrive expedients to check the insolence of the daring tribune.

The consul Domitius being absent, they applied themselves to his colleague C. Fannius, whom, to their great joy and surprize, they found to be in his heart a steady republican, a sincere friend to his country, not to be corrupted, and determined not to sacrifice the interest of the public to his private gratitude. Soon after his election, the popular tribune revived a prohibition formerly given to the judges, not to put in execution a capital sentence on a Roman citizen, without the consent and order of the people. This law met with no opposition; but when he proposed the following edict, that the allies should be upon the same footing with the citizens of Rome as to a right of suffrage, even in the acceptance or refusal of laws, the consul Fannius, thinking this a dangerous innovation, to the great surprize of his benefactor, openly declared against him; and, mounting the rostra, harangued the people with great zeal, expatiating on the evil consequences that would infallibly attend the passing of the law proposed by the tribune. Thus the republic was divided between her two chief magistrates, and the debates

debates every day increased: one was supported by the senate, and the other by the multitude, and both carried matters to great extremities. Gracchus was for giving the right of citizenship and suffrage to all the Italian allies of Rome, from the most eastern parts of Italy to the foot of the Alps; a design which drew vast crowds of those people to the capital. The senate, alarmed at this prodigious concourse of strangers, engaged the consul to forbid all those, who had not yet a right of suffrage, to continue in the city, or within five miles of it. This order gave rise to a warm dispute between the consul and the tribune in point of jurisdiction. Fannius insisted, that these new-comers should leave Rome; Gracchus encouraged them not to obey an order, which the consul had no right to publish. On one side were enacted consular edicts; and on the other ordinances of the tribune directly contrary to them. At length the boldest man succeeded: Fannius, who was a better soldier than orator, thinking it necessary to make use of force, sent his lictors to seize some of those pretenders to the citizenship of Rome, and caused them to be dragged through the streets, and driven out of the city. Gracchus, either from pusillanimity, or, as he said, for fear of giving rise to a civil war, suffered his friends to be thus treated, without offering to assist them; and this tameness was the first thing that lessened his credit ¹.

*who checks
his power.*

It was not enough for the senate to have thus checked the exorbitant power of the tribune; they aimed at nothing less than his destruction: but as they could not compass their design without gaining over one of the other tribunes, they applied themselves to Livius Drusus, judging him the most proper person in the college for their purpose. He was in the flower of his age, of an illustrious family, though plebeian; in point of manners blameless, skilled in business, a good orator, and inspired by a laudable emulation. As he had nothing more at heart than the welfare of his country, and the service of his fellow-citizens, he came readily into the measures of the conscript fathers; but they, remembering the misfortunes of Octavius, who had opposed the attempts of Tiberius, directed Livius to pursue different measures from those which that tribune had taken, and taught him a conduct so refined, and so well judged, that historians commend it as a great effort of policy. They did not

*The senate
gain over
Livius, one
of the tri-
bunes.*

¹ Plut. & Appian. *ibid.*

The artifice of the senate.

desire him to oppose the novelties which Gracchus daily introduced, but, on the contrary, to court the favour of the people, by attempting even to surpass Gracchus in popularity; a scheme artfully laid, and executed with still more address. If Gracchus proposed any law agreeable to the people, and displeasing to the senate, Livius immediately proposed another, which was more so; and by these means brought himself into favour with the multitude. This game was so skilfully played, as not to be suspected by the most sagacious of the adverse party. Gracchus could not see without concern the good-will of the people divided between him and Livius; and, being sensible that his interest was daily lessened among the multitude, began to shew some respect to the fathers, who returned it with great civilities, and pretended to be upon very good terms with him*.

A decree for rebuilding Carthage, and sending thither a colony.

Gracchus appointed leader of the colony.

But their master-piece was yet behind: they prevailed on Rubrius, another tribune, to propose a law for raising six thousand Romans to rebuild and repopulate Carthage. The law being passed, Rubrius, under pretence of doing honour to Gracchus, named him in the first place to be the leader of the colony, his seditious friend Fulvius Flaccus in the second place, and himself in the third. Gracchus fell into the snare, and, crossing the sea, spent some months in Africa, and began to build there a new city on the ruins of Carthage, which he called Junonia, from the name of the goddess who had always been the protectress of the old city. At the end of two months, Gracchus returned to Rome, where he met with a very indifferent reception even from the most zealous of his party*. Livius, during his absence, had got the ascendant, and gained the affections of the people to such a degree, that Gracchus was almost forgot by the unsteady multitude. The popular tribune was so sensible of this defection, that his friends could scarce keep up his drooping spirits. He took some steps to prevail on the people to elect him tribune the third time; but he very imprudently affronted the rest of his colleagues, by ordering a scaffold to be pulled down, which they had erected to see more conveniently a shew of gladiators (F). Gracchus pretended, that the

Gracchus stands for the tribuneship a third time;

* Plut in Gracch. Vel. Pat. lib. ii.
pian. de Bell. Civil. lib. i. p. 364.

* Idem ibid. & Apian.

(F) The combats of gladiators were first introduced at funerals, on the supposition, that the manes of the deceased were

the scaffold raised by the tribunes left no room for the common people to see the shew. By this bold action he ingratiated

were pleased and rendered propitious by human blood.

In process of time the Romans grew so fond of these bloody entertainments, that not only the heir of any great and rich citizen lately deceased, but all the principal magistrates, presented the people with shews of this nature, to procure their esteem and affection. The ædiles, prætors, consuls, and, above all, the candidates for offices, made their court to the people, by entertaining them frequently with these fights. As for the emperors, it was so much their interest to ingratiate themselves with the populace, that they obliged them with combats of gladiators almost upon all occasions. As these bloody solemnities were increased, so was the number of the combatants. The number of gladiators was so great even in the time of the republic, that, when the conspiracy of Cataline broke out, the senate ordered them to be dispersed about the strongholds, and secured, lest they should join the disaffected party. As to the condition of the gladiators, they were commonly slaves, or captives, purchased by the lanistæ, that is, by persons who made it their profession to teach them how to manage their arms, and brought them up for public shews. The lanistæ hired them out at a great price to the person who was at the expence of the shew, and led them armed to the amphitheatre like so many victims. They fought with

the utmost fury, and pursued one another without mercy, their masters sparing neither threatenings nor blows to stir up the timorous. If either of the two combatants, exhausted with fatigue, and loss of blood, or struck with horror at the approach of death, begged quarter, he held up his finger, and laid down his arms, to shew, that he had recourse to the mercy of the people present, from whom he expected the decision of his fate. It often happened, that the spectators took a cruel pleasure in giving up the suppliant to the fury of his adversary; and then, "*Recipe ferrum, stab him, stab him!*" was the cry from all parts of the theatre.

As soon as the mournful sound of the trumpets proclaimed the death of one of the gladiators, his body, covered with wounds and blood, was ignominiously dragged with a crook, through one of the gates of the amphitheatre, to a place adjoining, called Spoliarium, where the conquerors stripped the dead of their cloaths and arms, and inhumanly dispatched them, if they still breathed. If the people shewed an inclination to favour the vanquished, the lanista still retained his right to them, and kept them for other combats. The reward of the conqueror was only a crown of mastich, and a palm-branch, which he received from the hands of the magistrates, to which was added sometimes, but very rarely, a small sum of money.

The

ingratiated himself with the mob, but provoked the whole college of the tribunes, who soon found an opportunity to shew

The greatest of all the advantages the gladiators ever gained by their victories, and after many years of service, was the recovery of their liberty. In this case, the prætor declared them for ever free from the hard fate of being subjected to an avaricious and merciless master. A kind of foil, called by the Latins *rudis*, was put into their hands, as a pledge of their enfranchisement, and on their heads a sort of bonnet named *pileus*, which was given to all those who, from slaves, became free.

In process of time, freemen often fought for hire as gladiators; whence they had the name of *auclorati*. Some young persons of good families, after they had spent their estates in debauchery, were not ashamed to hire themselves out as gladiators; nay, the knights and noblemen, and even the senators themselves, often took up this infamous profession, to keep themselves from starving, after they had squandered away their patrimony. In one shew exhibited by Nero, four hundred senators, if the numbers in Suetonius are not corrupted, and six hundred of the equestrian order, fought in the arena as common gladiators. Nay, even women of distinction frequently engaged in these public encounters, particularly under Nero and Domitian. But the most ridiculous set of combatants were the dwarfs, who, encountering one another, or engaging with the women, afforded the people great diversion.

There were several kinds of gladiators, distinguished by different appellations, which they took from their country, their arms, their way of fighting, or from such-like circumstances. The most famous, and most frequently mentioned by the ancients, are the *retarii*, the *secutores*, the *myrmillones*, the *Thracians*, the *Samnites*, the *pinnirapi*, the *essedarii*, and the *andabatae*. The *retarius* was dressed in a short coat, having a *furcina* or trident in his left-hand, and a net in his right, with which he endeavoured to entangle his adversary, that he might the more easily dispatch him with his trident. The *secutor*, who was always matched with the *retarius*, was armed with a buckler and an helmet, on which was engraved a fish, in allusion to the net. If the *retarius* failed in casting the net, he fled round the place of combat, till he had got it ready for a second throw. In the mean time his antagonist pursued him, to prevent his design; and from thence was called *secutor*, or follower. The *secutor's* weapon was a *falx supina*, or kind of scymitar. The *myrmillo* was the same as the *secutor*. The *Thracians* used a *sica*, or dagger, and a *parma*, or little round shield. Some writers think they were called *Thracians*, because they were natives of Thrace; others pretend they were so named from their weapons, which were peculiar to the *Thracians*. As to the *Samnite* gladiators, Livy tells us, that the *Campanians*, bearing

shew their resentment ; for a few days after, when the election came on, the old tribunes, whose business it was to collect the votes, so counted them, that the majority was declared to be against Gracchus, though, in all likelihood, the greatest number of suffrages was for him. To complete his misfortune, his professed enemy L. Opimius was chosen consul, with Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus, nephew to the second Africanus. It fell to the lot of Fabius to make war in Gaul, where Domitius Ahenobarbus, in the character of proconsul, had gained great advantages, which we shall take notice of hereafter. Opimius continued in Italy, and made it his business to humble the great adversary of the senate, and his own personal enemy ; for the influence of Gracchus had formerly excluded him from the consular dignity, because he would not come into his measures.

but is disappointed.

The idol of the people, being thus reduced to the condition of a private man, and consequently exposed to the persecutions of his enemies, had recourse to the law for rebuilding Carthage ; and, together with Fulvius Flaccus his inseparable friend, raised six thousand men for that purpose. When they had made the necessary preparations for passing over into Africa, they were informed, that the law would be repealed. These news brought them back to Rome ; for they were then busied in getting together

Has recourse to the law for rebuilding Carthage.

bearing a great hatred to the Samnites, armed some of their gladiators after the fashion of that country, and called them Samnites. The pinnirapi, who always entered the lists against the Samnites, were so called from the *pinnæ*, or crest, which adorned the Samnite's helmet. These *pinnæ* they used to catch at, and carry them off in triumph, as marks of their victory ; and hence the name of pinnirapi. The *essedarii* engaged one another in chariots called *essedæ*. The *andabata* fought on horseback, armed with a helmet, which covered his face, and even his eyes, so that he struck at a venture ; and hence *andabatarum* more

pugnare is, among the Latins, to fight blindfold.

The prize-fighting practised among the English, which hath been so much decried by our delicate neighbours, was never attended with those circumstances of cruelty which distinguished the shews of the ancient Romans, who were never pleased but when one of the combatants was slain ; and the greater the carnage was, the spectators expressed the greater pleasure ; whereas the English never suffered the prize-fighters to hurt one another dangerously ; and always shewed themselves generous and humane to the vanquished.

a suf-

The tribune Minutius solicits the repealing of the law.

a sufficient number of vessels for transporting their men. Upon their arrival, they found, that the senate had given the tribune M. Minutius instructions for that purpose ; and that his chief argument to the people was built on some pretended prodigies, which were said to have happened at Carthage when the workmen first began to mark out the circumference of the new city. To demonstrate the futility of this pretence, Gracchus mounted the rostra once more, but both spoke and acted like a madman. Among other things, he said, that, if the senate reported, that heaven obstructed the building of Carthage by prodigies, the senate lyed. On the day appointed for the comitia to meet upon this subject, Fulvius, early in the morning, posted some of his faction in the area of the Capitol, where the assembly was to be held ; and Gracchus, with a numerous guard, took possession of one of the porticoes of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, there to wait for the result of the comitia.

The consul Opimius having offered a sacrifice to Jupiter in his temple on the Capitol, one of the consul's lictors, named Antillius, as he was bringing out the entrails of the victim, after they had been presented on the altar, insulted Gracchus, and his friends, crying out, " Take care, rioters ; make way for the faithful servant of the republic." Upon this provocation, one of Gracchus's domestics drew a dagger, and laid Antillius dead at his feet. This unhappy accident, together with a violent storm, dispersed the croud, every one retiring in great consternation to his own house. As the author of the murder was not known, the greater part imputed it to Gracchus himself, though no one, even of the adverse party, was more affected with it than he ; for he knew, that his enemies waited for an opportunity to lay on him the blame of a civil war, which they were resolved to begin. He passed the night in great uneasiness, dreading the evil consequences of that rash action ; but Fulvius, who, from his earliest years, had been bred up in a camp, behaved in a very different manner : he retired to his house, attended with a strong guard ; and there made a great entertainment for his friends, drinking hard, and causing wine to be freely distributed among his adherents. He did not retire till it was very late, and then slept sound, till he was awaked by the outcries of his guard, and the noise that was heard in all the streets of Rome.

The consul Opimius seizes the Capitol.

The consul Opimius had taken possession of the Capitol, with his consular troops, before day ; and by that step made

made himself master of a post which commanded the city. After having taken this precaution, he assembled the senate in the temple of Castor and Pollux, and caused the dead body of Antillius to be exposed to public view, in order to excite the multitude against Gracchus and his partisans. The senate drew up a decree, empowering the consul to do whatever he should judge proper for the public good; which was in effect creating him dictator. Thus impowered, Opimius, resolving to repay his old enemy all the evils the republic and himself had suffered from him, ordered the Roman knights to take up arms, and each to bring with him two domestics well armed. Fulvius, upon the first notice of these extraordinary proceedings, ran like a madman about the streets; and, having raised the mob, flew with his two sons, and a confused multitude, to take possession of mount Aventine; so that the two extremities of Rome, to the east and west, were like two camps, whence two armies were ready to march against each other.

and Fulvius mount Aventine.

Gracchus, foreseeing that much blood would be shed in this quarrel, expressed a great reluctance to follow Fulvius to mount Aventine. However, he resolved at length to join his friend; but left his house more like a magistrate who was going to put an end to a civil contest than a warrior who was marching to battle. He neither changed the habit which he usually wore in the city, nor took any other arms than a dagger under his robe, to defend himself in case he should be attacked. As he was going out of his house, his wife, who tenderly loved both her husband and her country, ran, all in tears, to stop him: she seized him by his robe; and, holding in her arms his son, the only pledge of their mutual affections, "Whither are you going (said she), so early? Can you be ignorant, that the murderers of your brother are preparing the same fate for you? You are going to put yourself at the head of a rabble, who will basely abandon you at the sight of the least danger. If you have any affection either for me or your dear child, take care of a life which is to us so precious." Gracchus, pierced to the heart with grief, and not having power to answer her, broke away from her embrace; but she, holding him by the robe, followed him, till at length, borne down with the weight of her grief, she fainted, and fell down in the street, whence she was carried to the house of Licinius Crassus, her brother, who had entirely devoted himself to Gracchus's party.

Gracchus joins Fulvius.

*Gracchus
offers terms
of accom-
modation ;*

*which are
rejected by
the consul
Opimius.*

*Opimius
marches
against
Gracchus,
and his
party.*

Gracchus, at his arrival on Mount Aventine, found a confused multitude, not at all in a condition to withstand the consular troops, and the whole body of the nobility, who, with their clients and domestics, formed a very powerful party. He therefore summoned the chief men of his party to a council of war, when it was unanimously resolved to fortify the temple of Diana ; to invite the slaves to join him, with a promise of granting them their liberty ; and lastly, to offer a treaty before hostilities began. Gracchus prevailed on Fulvius to send to the consul his youngest son, a child scarce twelve years old, but of extraordinary beauty, and admired by all for his understanding, which was much above his years. When young Fulvius appeared before Opimius with a caduceus, the symbol of peace, in his hand, the consul, in derision, received the young ambassador with great pomp and ceremony ; and then ordered him to return to Mount Aventine, and inform those who had sent him, that, if they would obtain peace, they must come themselves, and submit to the judgment of the senate. " Take care, child, (said the consul, after he had returned that answer), take care you do not appear here a second time. Their sending an ambassador of your age can be done only to insult us." This experiment having miscarried, Gracchus himself, to prevent the spilling of Roman blood, offered to come down from the hill in person, to hear the proposals of the senate ; but the multitude would not suffer him, fearing to be deprived of their leader. As no other person chose to execute this commission, Fulvius had the imprudence to send his son a second time to the consul, who, without hearing him, though he appeared before him with a great air of modesty, cried out in a rage, " It is too much to insult us in this manner. Let the child be carried to prison ; not so much to punish the son, as to chastize the insolence of the father." The order was immediately put in execution, and no farther mention made of treaties. The consul resolved, without loss of time, to fall upon the rebels, and force them from their post.

Accordingly he marched down from the Capitol, and, arriving at the foot of Mount Aventine, began the attack with the prudence of an experienced officer. Fulvius, whose bravery had been honoured with a triumph, made a vigorous resistance. And now Romans engaged for the first time with Romans, and consuls with consuls, within the walls of Rome. There had been, before this time, several frays ; but this was a formal battle, both parties being

being commanded by generals of great experience. Optimius ordered a body of archers, armed with bows and arrows, after the Cretan manner, to march up the hill, under the command of Decimus Brutus, and charge the rebels; while Fulvius came down the hill like a torrent, and fell upon the archers with incredible fury. In this first attack, Lentulus, the prince of the senate, was dangerously wounded, and many persons of distinction lost their lives; for in the engagement the senators and knights were confounded with the common foldiers, and the people with their magistrates. The consul, meeting with a more vigorous opposition than he expected, proclaimed an amnesty for all those who should lay down their arms; and at the same time set a price on the heads of Gracchus and Fulvius, promising to give their weight in gold to any one who should bring them to him. This proclamation had the desired effect; the populace slipped away one by one, and, deserting their leaders, returned silently to their own houses. Fulvius, seeing himself thus abandoned, fled for refuge, with his eldest son, to a friend's house, and concealed himself in an old bathing-room, which was very private, and no longer in use. His enemies, greedy of the reward set upon his head, made a diligent search after him; and not finding him (though they knew he could not be far off), threatened to burn down the whole neighbourhood. This menace terrified the owner of the house to which Fulvius and his son had retired; however, he himself would not betray his friend, but directed another to shew where he was. Armed men immediately entered the house, and killing both the father and the son, cut off their heads, with a design to present them to the consul when the action should be over^t.

*A price set
on the heads
of Grac-
chus and
Fulvius.*

*Fulvius
killed.*

*Gracchus
attempts
an escape.*

Gracchus, who had not engaged in the battle, for fear of imbruing his hands in Roman blood, fled for refuge to the temple of Diana; but Licinius Crassus, his brother-in-law, and Pomponius, a Roman knight, who attended him, advised him to make his escape through the gate Tergemina. He followed their advice; and, passing through the centre of the city, reached the bridge Sublicius, where his enemies, who pursued him close, would have overtaken and seized him, if his two friends Licinius and Pomponius, with as much intrepidity and reso-

^t Plut. in Gracch. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. i. p. 364. Vel. Patern. lib. ii. Auct. de Vir. Illustr.

The gallant behaviour of two of his friends.

Yr. of Fl.

1228.

Ante Chr.

120.

U. C. 628.

Death of Gracchus.

lution as Horatius Cocles had formerly exerted in the same place, had not opposed their fury. They defended the bridge against all the consular troops, till Gracchus was out of their reach; but at length, being overpowered by numbers, and covered with wounds, they both expired on the bridge which they had so valiantly defended.

Gracchus fled to a sacred wood dedicated to the Furies, and there ordered a generous slave, by name Euphorus, or, as others call him, Philostratus, who had attended him, to put an end to his life. The faithful slave, resolving not to outlive his master, stabbed himself with the same dagger which he had plunged into the breast of Gracchus, and expired on his body. Others tell us, that Gracchus, being overtaken by those who pursued him, Euphorus, embracing his master, covered him with his body; so, that his enemies could not hurt him without first killing the faithful slave, who, after having received many wounds, breathed his last over Gracchus, whom the rabble soon dispatched. As soon as he was dead, one of the multitude cut off his head; but as he was carrying it like a trophy to the consul, Lucius Septimuleius, who had always professed a strict friendship for Gracchus, snatched it out of his hand, and basely went with it to the consul, to get the reward offered for it, which being its weight in gold, he first privately poured melted lead into the skull, and then delivered it to Opimius, who was so pleased, that he paid seventeen pounds and a half for it, without discovering the cheat. The body of Gracchus was first thrown into the Tiber, and afterwards carried to his mother Cornelia, who paid it all funeral honours^u.

The cruelty of Opimius.

On the other hand, the consul Opimius, not satisfied with the death of Gracchus, of Fulvius, and of above three thousand of their party, who had been slain in the engagement on Mount Aventine, imprisoned, and condemned to die, all the friends and adherents of the Gracchi, whom he could discover. His severity towards young Fulvius was highly blameable, and deservedly condemned, even by those of his own party. He sent a sistor to the young Roman in prison, to acquaint him, that he must die, and to offer him the liberty of choosing what kind of death he thought the easiest. The innocent youth, at this unexpected message, burst out into

^u Plut. & Appian. *ibid.* Vell. Pat. lib. ii. cap. 7. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 8. Oros. lib. v. cap. 12.

tears. An Etrurian aruspex, who was shut up in the same prison, told him he would shew him how easy it was to die; and immediately dashed his brains out against the lintel of the door. Young Fulvius followed his example, and, by a like death, put the inhuman consul's orders in execution. Opimius commanded the bodies of those who had been killed on the Aventine, to the number of three thousand, to be thrown into the Tiber, confiscated their goods, and published an edict, forbidding their widows and relations to wear mourning for them. Licinia, the wife of Gracchus, was even deprived of her dowry. The implacable consul, after having shed so much blood, was not ashamed to build a temple to Concord. The people never saw this temple but with horror, and looked upon it as a monument of the cruelty of Opimius.

*The death
of young
Fulvius.*

The senate made it their chief business to extinguish even the memory of the laws published by the Gracchi. With this view they gained over one of the commissioners, and prevailed upon him to represent in the assembly of the people, that he met with insurmountable difficulties in the partition of the lands; but that, to relieve the people, he would take care, that every proprietor of such lands should pay a certain rent, proportionable to the quantity he possessed; and that the money arising from these rents should be distributed among the poor citizens, who enjoyed no share of those public lands. He added, that in consideration of this payment, he was of opinion, that those who possessed such lands should be acknowledged the lawful proprietors of them, with a discharge from all claims for the future; and that they should be allowed afterwards to alienate and dispose of these inheritances, always subject, however, to the rent that should be agreed upon. The people, seduced with the hopes of this advantage, passed the law, which absolutely destroyed that of the Gracchi. Those rents were in a little time wholly suppressed; one of the tribunes of the people pretending, that the rich paid a sufficient tribute to the public, by being at the charge of supporting the dignity of the commonwealth in the magistracies with which they were invested. Thus the people were again reduced to their former wants, and subjected to the authority of the senate.

*The Grac-
chian laws
repealed.*

▼ Plut. Appian. Vell. Paterc. ibid.

*Success of
the Romans
in Trans-
alpine
Gaul.*

During these troubles at home, the late consul, Domitius, diffused, with great success, the terror of the Roman arms in Transalpine Gaul. He had, during his consulship, entirely settled the country of the Salyes in peace, a work happily begun by C. Sextius Calvinus three years before; but the Allobroges, whose country bordered on that of the Salyes, being uneasy at the settlements of the Romans in their neighbourhood, began to rise, with a design to fall upon the Roman colony at Aquæ Sextiæ. Domitius, now only proconsul, having been succeeded by Q. Fabius Maximus, the colleague of Opimius, to prevent the Arverni (G), a powerful people, from joining the Allobroges, entered into an alliance with their neighbours the Ædui, one of the most considerable nations in Transalpine Gaul. In consequence of this connexion, the Arverni began hostilities with the Ædui, who complained to Domitius; and the Roman general took occasion from thence to force a passage into the country of the Arverni.

*Strange de-
putation
sent to the
proconsul
by the king
of the Ar-
verni.*

He had scarce entered it, when the king of the Arverni, named Bituitus, or, according to the Celtic orthography, Bitultick, sent a deputation to the proconsul, which was quite a new scene to the Romans. The head of the embassy was richly dressed, and followed by a great number of attendants; but his chief guard consisted of a company of huge dogs, that followed him in good order, like regular troops. By his side walked a bard, or priest, who, being a skilful versifier in the language of his country, sung the praises of his king, his people, and the ambassador. The proconsul, at first, expressed great regard for this envoy, who, assuming an imperious air, commanded him, in the name of his master, to forbear molesting the Allobroges, and retire forthwith from Gaul. Domitius, who was not a man to be intimidated by such an address, turned his back upon the ambassador and his bard, without deigning to give them an answer; and immediately led his troops into the fruitful plains of the Cavari (H).

*The Allo-
broges de-
feated.*

While he was encamped there, near a village called Vindalialia, not far from the place where the Sulga, now the Sorgue, falls into the Rhone, an innumerable multitude of Allobroges came to attack him, but were easily routed by the proconsul's regular and well disciplined troops.

(G) Their chief town Arvernium is now Clermont in Auvergne. The Allobroges were the inhabitants of Savoy; and

the Ædui the people of Autun.

(H) In the neighbourhood of Avignon.

We

We are told, that twenty thousand Gauls were killed on the spot, and three thousand made prisoners of war *.

The defeat of the Allobroges put the nation of the Arverni in motion. Bitultick raised an army of two hundred thousand men, and marched against the Romans, whom they found encamped in the country of the Cavari. The Roman army, thirty thousand strong, was commanded by the consul, Q. Fabius Maximus. Domitius Ahenobarbus had surrendered the command to Fabius, but still continued in the camp to assist the general with his advice. Bitultick, who placed too great confidence in his numbers, when he saw the Roman camp, despised so weak an enemy; and turning to those who attended him, "This handful of men (said he) will scarce be sufficient to feed the dogs that follow me." When he began the attack, Fabius was in the fit or paroxysm of a quartan ague; however he drew up the legions, and, being carried through the ranks, encouraged his soldiers to behave like true Romans. The Gauls, being undisciplined, and without experience, were soon routed, and great numbers of them slain. Domitius, desirous to share the glory of the day with Fabius, sent to invite the king of the Arverni, who had not yet left the field of battle, to an interview. The credulous Gaul accepted the invitation, and came to meet Domitius, with a small attendance, at the place appointed; but, to his great surprize, saw himself all on a sudden surrounded by the Roman legionaries. The betrayed king called for vengeance from the gods, protectors of faith; but in vain, the base Roman telling him, that he should go to Rome, to give an account of his conduct to the senate. Accordingly he was sent under a strong guard to Marseilles, and there put on board a vessel, which conveyed him to Rome †.

The king of the Arverni marches against the Romans.

The Arverni defeated.

The treachery of Domitius.

The Allobroges immediately submitted. As for the Arverni, the captivity of their king, and the loss they had sustained in the battle, which is said to have amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand men, either killed or drowned in the Rhone, so disheartened them, that they sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which was granted them upon reasonable terms, the proconsul only requiring of them that they should continue at home, and not disturb the Ædui, or any of the neighbouring nations. Fa-

The Allobroges and Arverni submit.

* Strabo, lib. iv. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 2. Vell. Paterc. lib. iii. Appian. apud Fulv. Ursin. Oros. lib. v. cap. 13. † Appian. in Celtic. Vell. Paterc. lib. ix. cap. 6.

bis and Domitius having thus settled the eastern part of Gaul in peace, returned to Rome, where the senate approved of the baseness of Domitius, and not only detained the injured Bitultick, and exposed him in the triumphs of his conquerors, but, by a fresh act of injustice, ordered the next year's consul, P. Manlius, who was then setting out for Gaul, to send Congeniatius, the son of Bitultick, to Rome. The young prince indeed was entertained and educated at Rome in a manner suitable to his rank; and therefore, when he returned to his dominions, he maintained to the last a great friendship and esteem for the Romans, by whom he had been educated. The unhappy Bitultick, after he had been basely obliged by the senate to grace the triumphs of Domitius and Fabius, was confined to the city of Alba, where he spent the rest of his days, the senate being afraid lest he should renew the war, if they allowed him to return to his own dominions². Thus were all rules of equity, and even the law of nations, shamefully neglected by the senate when they came in competition with the interest of their republic.

*Opimius
accused
before the
people;*

In the course of the following year, when P. Manlius and C. Papirius Carbo were consuls, P. Decius Mus, one of the tribunes of the people, accused the late consul, Opimius, and cited him to appear before the comitia. The crimes laid to his charge were, his having put to death a great number of citizens on Mount Aventine, and afterwards sentenced others to die, and caused them to be executed, before the people had condemned them; a cause of the utmost importance to both parties, and debated with great warmth. Decius, no mean orator, maintained, that Opimius had transgressed the law, enacting, that no citizen should be put to death but by a decree of the people; that, if the people gave up their right in this instance, their defenders would undergo the fate of the Gracchi, whenever the senate should think fit. "They will declare them (said he) dangerous citizens; and then death will be the reward of their zeal for the interest of the people." The consul, Papirius Carbo, undertook the defence of Opimius; and, by shewing to the multitude how dangerous it was, and inconsistent with reason, that seditious men and rebels should have no other judges or avengers than themselves, prevailed upon them to acquit Opimius, and declare, that it was lawful for a consul, when empowered by the senate, to deliver the re-

*and ac-
quitted,*

² Flor. lib. iii. cap. 2. Vell. Pat. ibid. Jul. Cæs. Comment. lib. i. Diod. Sic. apud Vales.

public from a dangerous citizen, without waiting for the consent of the people assembled in comitia (I). Thus was tranquillity restored to the city. The senate recovered their ancient ascendancy over the people, who bore their mild government without complaints; but this tranquillity was soon disturbed by new commotions, which greatly shook the consular state, and paved the way for an absolute monarchy.

C H A P. XLIV.

The History of Rome, from the End of the Sedition of the Gracchi to the perpetual Dictatorship of Sylla.

THE civil commotions of the republic being allayed by the death of the Gracchi, and the abolition of their laws, L. Cæcilius Metellus, the nephew of the great Metellus surnamed Macedonicus, and L. Aurelius Cotta, were, without any disturbance or opposition, raised to the consulate. The latter was sent into Transalpine Gaul with a consular army to keep the Allobroges and Arverni in awe, and the former repaired to Illyricum to reduce the Segeftani (K), who had shaken off the Roman yoke. The consul defeated them in the field, and made himself master of their city and territory; but as this expedition was not of importance enough to procure him a triumph,

Yr. of Fl.
2230.
Ante Chr.
118.
U. C. 630.

(I) This Opimius, who is one of Cicero's worthies, was afterwards sent with a commission to the court of Jugurtha, and, on his return home, tried, and condemned to banishment, for taking bribes of that prince to betray his country. The consulate of Opimius is famous among the ancients for the best and most plentiful vintage that had ever been known. In Pliny's time, that is, near two

hundred years after this period, some wines of that year still remained, and were sold at an exorbitant rate, to mix in small quantities with other wines (1).

(K) Segefta, formerly a city of Upper Pannonia, is long since destroyed. There are only some of its ruins remaining on the banks of the Save, near the mouth of the Kulp, and the little city of Sifeg.

(1) Plin. lib. xiv. cap. 4.

The Dalmatians subdued.

he made war unjustly on the Dalmatians, who not being in a condition to withstand a consular army, voluntarily submitted; so that he spent the winter in tranquillity at Salona (L), the capital of the country. Nevertheless, he assumed the surname of Dalmaticus, and was honoured with a triumph for his pretended conquest^a.

In the mean time a young orator had courage enough to impeach the late consul Papirius Carbo at the tribunal of the prætor Q. Fabius Eburnus, who had been commissioned by the senate to try state-criminals. The orator's name was L. Licinius Crassus. No Roman had ever been endowed by nature with greater talents for eloquence, which he had carefully improved, though but twenty years of age, by a strict application to study. As he was of the Licinian family, and nearly related to Licinia, the wife of C. Gracchus, he resolved to do all that lay in his power to destroy Papirius Carbo, a sworn enemy to the Gracchian party. Papirius had formerly been zealous for the people, and the Gracchi, and had been suspected of having assassinated the second Africanus; but having since changed his party, and with it his sentiments, he had devoted himself to the interest of the nobility, who had promoted him to the consulship, and looked upon him as one of the chief supporters of their cause: so that he had great interest; and, besides, was himself an orator of no mean character, as appeared in the cause of Opimius, which he defended with uncommon success. Nevertheless, the love of revenge prompted young Crassus to attempt the ruin of this powerful enemy to the Gracchian faction.

He reduced the whole impeachment to these three articles; 1st, That he had persuaded the elder Gracchus to demand the tribuneship a second year; 2dly, That he had made a law for this purpose, when he was tribune; and, 3dly, That he had been at least an accomplice in the assassination of the second Africanus. These were heavy accusations, and Crassus might have easily proved them, had not his probity got the ascendant over all his passions; for one of Papirius's slaves, being angry with his master,

^a Appian. in Illyric. Vell Paterc. lib. ii.

(L) The ancient city of Salona, in Dalmatia, stood about ten miles from the gulf of that name, on the coast of the Adriatic sea, at a small distance

from the place where the present city of Spalato stands. It was once famous for the retreat of the emperor Dioclesian, but is now buried in its ruins.

stole

stole the box in which he kept all his papers, and brought it to the accuser. But the generous Roman had such an abhorrence of the treachery, that he sent back the slave in chains, and the box unopened, saying, that he had rather let an enemy, and a criminal, escape unpunished, than destroy him by base and dishonourable means. On the day appointed, the cause was argued before the prætor and a very numerous assembly, all Rome attending to hear the first essay of a young orator, who had never yet displayed his talents but in the schools. When he ascended the rostra, he was so intimidated at the sight of so crouded an audience, that he looked pale, and was ready to faint. The prætor, observing the confusion he was in, adjourned the court to the next day. Then the croud was still greater; but the young orator took courage, and spoke with such energy, that the accused, sinking into despair, did justice on himself (M).

*Generosity
of Crassus.*

During the present consulate, the famous Caius Marius first appeared in a public office. He was of such mean extraction, that even the village where he was born is not known. All that is certain of his origin is, that he was a native of the country of the Arpinates in the territory of the Volsci; that his father's name was Marius, and his mother's Fucinia. He was a man of an extraordinary size, of great strength of body, and uncommon understanding, courageous and enterprising; but at the same time of a fierce aspect, and in his manners a perfect savage. As soon as he attained to the military age, he entered into the army, and gave the first proofs of his courage and intrepidity at the siege of Numantia. Scipio, with whom he made his first campaign, discovering under a rough outside a great fund of understanding and bravery, told his officers, that young Marius, however clownish, would one day be an honour to the republic, and prove one of her greatest generals. He distinguished himself on all occasions by actions of uncommon valour, but more by an exact observance of military discipline.

*Marius's
birth, edu-
cation, &c.*

(M) Some say, that he went into banishment; but Valerius Maximus assures us, that he poisoned himself with cantharides, to avoid a most shameful death (1). From this time Crassus gained the repu-

tation of the greatest orator Rome had ever bred. His oration was put into the hands of all young orators, and long after looked upon by Cicero as an inimitable performance (2).

(1) Val. Max. lib. iii. cap. 7.
in Bruto, & passim alibi.

(2) Cic. de Orat. lib. i. & ii.

*Marius
tribune of
the people.*

*His intro-
pidity.*

He passed through all the degrees in the army, and every step he rose was in reward of some action, by which he had signalized himself. He now began to solicit civil magistracies, and stood for the tribuneship of the people, which he obtained, and discharged with the same intrepidity he had shewn in the field. He proposed a new law relating to the manner of collecting the suffrages in the election of the curule magistrates: this the consul Cotta opposed, and even cited the tribune to appear before the senate, and answer for his conduct. Marius obeyed the summons; but instead of being daunted, threatened to exert his authority, and send the consul to prison, if he persisted in his opposition. Metellus, then prince of the senate, though the patron and friend of Marius, declared for Cotta. The bold tribune, without shewing the least regard for that venerable senator, to whom he was indebted for his fortune, and by whose interest he had even obtained the tribuneship, ordered one of his officers to seize him, and carry him to prison. His orders would have been put in execution, if the consul had not waved his opposition, and the senate given their consent to the law. The boldness of the new tribune surprised the fathers, but gained him great reputation among the people, who, from this time, began to look upon him as their chief protector against the encroachments of the nobility^b.

*A way
opened for
the Roman
armies
from the
Alps to the
Pyrenees.*

The tribuneship of Marius expired at the same time that Rome chose new consuls. These were M. Porcius Cato, grandson to the great Cato by his first wife, and Q. Marcius, surnamed Rex. The former died soon in Numidia, whither he had been sent to watch the steps of Jugurtha, who had usurped that kingdom; so that Marcius remained chief magistrate of the republic for the whole year. The province which fell to his lot was Transalpine Gaul, where he opened a way for the Roman armies from the Alps to the Pyrenees; a work of an immense labour, and great danger; for the Stæni, a fierce nation, and fond of liberty, whom Stephanus places at the foot of the Maritime Alps, took arms, and opposed Marcius's design with great courage: but when they found themselves surrounded by the Romans, they set fire to their houses, killed their wives and children, and then threw themselves into the flames; so that not one of them survived the loss of his liberty. Marcius, to secure his con-

^b Plut. in Mario. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 9. Cic. de Legib. lib. iii. quest,

quest, planted a colony in the country of the Volcæ Tectosages, who anciently possessed all that tract which lies between the Pyrenees to the south and the present city of Toulouse to the north. The city which Marcius founded was called by his name Narbo-Marcus. Such was the origin of the city of Narbonne, which became the capital of a great country, and a convenient place of refreshment for the Roman armies, when they passed from the Pyrenees to the Alps, or from the Alps to the Pyrenees. The senate thought the reduction of this part of Gaul, the opening a way from the Alps to the Pyrenees, and the founding of the city of Narbonne, so considerable works, that they honoured Marcius with a triumph ^c.

Narbonne built.

The consulate of L. Cæcilius Metellus and Q. Mutius Scævola proved so peaceable, that the Romans had little else to attend but their superstitions, Rome being filled with reports of prodigies. The succeeding consuls, C. Licinius Geta and Q. Fabius Eburnus, had as little opportunity of acquiring glory as their predecessors. In their consulate C. Marius stood for the prætorship, and with great difficulty obtained it by the most flagrant bribery and corruption: for this he was accused before the people; but, they being divided in their opinions, he was acquitted. As he had a great deal of good sense; and a penetrating understanding, he presided in the court of judicature, which was assigned him as prætor, without reproach. Next year it fell to his lot to govern Farther Spain, which he did with great equity and moderation. He cleared his government of the banditti who had long infested it, and cured those people of their ancient custom of living by rapine ^d. The consuls of that year were Æmilius Scaurus and L. Cæcilius Metellus. The latter was the son of Metellus Macedonicus, and the former an intrepid soldier, a brave officer, and eloquent orator. Scaurus proposed several laws, and got them passed in the comitia, in opposition to the tribunes, who had engrossed the prerogative of proposing laws. By one of these he restrained the excessive luxury of the Romans, forbidding them to eat dormice, foreign shell-fish, and such birds as were brought from distant countries; by another he left the freedmen, who had been long confined to the Esquiline tribe, at liberty to enrol themselves in any of the four city tribes. His zeal for maintaining order in Rome was seconded by the censors L. Metellus Dalmaticus and Cn.

Marius created prætor.

Several laws passed.

^c Fast. Capit. Cic. pro Fonteio. ^d Plut. in Mar.

Yr. of Fl.

2235.

Ante Chr.

113.

U. C. 635.

*The Gentis-
ci and
Carni sub-
dued.*

*A Roman
army cut
off by the
Scordisci.*

*The Scor-
disci de-
feated by
T. Didius.*

Domitius Ahenobarbus, who struck thirty-two unworthy senators out of the roll, and among them Licinius Geta, the late consul; proscribed games of hazard, and concerts of music; and, after having nominated the consul Scaurus prince of the senate, finished their office with a census, in which were counted three hundred and ninety-four thousand three hundred and thirty-six citizens able to bear arms. From Rome Scaurus repaired to Gaul, where he subdued the Gentis-ci and Carni, and employed the summer in making a good road from Rome to the Alps for the more convenient march of the armies, which had been hitherto obliged to pass through a miry and almost impassable country. For this important service the senate and people granted him a triumph, which his easy victory over the Gentis-ci and Carni had not deserved.*

Next year M. Acilius Balbus and C. Forcius Cato, the grandson of Cato the censor, were raised to the consulate. The latter was sent into Macedon to oppose the Scordisci, a people of Thrace, who had invaded that province. The Barbarians were at first terrified at the sight of a consular army, but afterwards faced the consul; and, having drawn him into a country full of rocks, forests, and narrow passes, cut off all his army, Porcius alone having saved himself by flight. The republic had not for a long time suffered such a defeat. Historians speak of it with astonishment; and tell us, that it would have alarmed the city as much as the battle of Cannæ did formerly, if such a misfortune had happened in the heart of Italy. The Scordisci, after so complete a victory, laid waste Macedon, spread themselves all over Thessaly, and advanced to the coasts of the Adriatic. T. Didius, the Roman prætor in Illyricum, soon repaired the loss which the republic had sustained, and drove the enemy back with great slaughter to their own country. For this service the republic honoured him with a triumph. Though the senate and people did not condemn Porcius Cato for his misfortune, they accused him unjustly of oppression, and under that pretence banished him to Tarraton, in Spain, where he spent the remainder of his days: a punishment, in point of prudence necessary, in order to deter Roman generals from exposing their troops too rashly to the fury of Barbarians†.

* Auct. de Vir. Illust. Front. Strat. lib. iv. cap. 3. Strab. lib. v. & Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 8. Cic. in Verr. & pro Balbo. Diodor. Sicul. apud Vales. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 3.

The incontinence of the Vestals punished.

This same year an infamous commerce was discovered between several of the Vestals and their gallants. The intrigue was begun by L. Betucius Barrus, a Roman knight, but a professed debauchee, who gloried in corrupting women of the greatest families and best characters. He carried on an amour with a Vestal named Emilia, who seduced two others, Licinia and Marcia, into the like irregularities. Upon the accusation of a slave, Betucius and Emilia were condemned to the usual punishment; but Licinia and Marcia, though no less guilty, acquitted; the pontifices being afraid, lest the condemning of so many criminals at once might bring the whole sacerdotal order into disrepute. This connivance raised great murmurs among the people; and Seduceius, one of the tribunes, revived the prosecution, shewed the iniquity of the judgement of the pontifices, and brought the cause before the people, who nominated L. Cassius, one of the prætors to rehear it. Cassius was a man of known integrity, but so severe, that his court was called "the wreck of criminals:" he, without any regard to the birth of the accused, or the sentence passed in their favour, or the rights of the pontifical college, or the eloquence of the famous L. Crassus, who pleaded for his relation Licinia, condemned the two Vestals to be buried alive, and their gallants to be scourged to death. Nor did this sacrifice satisfy the people: a temple was built at the public expence to Venus, under the appellation of Verticordia, because that goddess was in this temple to be implored to turn the hearts of the Roman women to virtue: so that Venus was now invoked for chastity. The honour of consecrating this temple was conferred upon Sulpitia, the daughter of Servius Sulpitius Paternulus, who, though very young, and lately married to Q. Fulvius Flaccus, had given such proofs of an extraordinary modesty, that she was deemed the most chaste woman in Rome.

A temple erected to Venus Verticordia.

In the mean time Rome was alarmed with accounts of an inundation of Barbarians. The northern part of Germany was inhabited by a nation said to have been descended from the Asiatic Cimmerians, and to have taken the name of Cimbri, when they changed their old habitations. These people were now settled near the ocean, in the peninsula which we call Jutland, and the ancients Cimbrica Chersonesus. Tired with cultivating a cold country, shut up between two seas, they left their penin-

An inundation of Cimbri and Teutonas.

*Metellus
defeats the
Scordisci.*

fula with their wives and children; and, joining the Teutones, a neighbouring nation, took their journey southward, and fell upon the country which the Boii had long possessed, not far from the Hercynian forest. The Boii soon drove them out of their country, and obliged them to carry war and devastation into other parts. They then fell on the Scordisci, whom Didius had just driven back to the banks of the Danube; and from thence advancing still nearer to the Roman provinces, they penetrated into Vindelicia (N), and there ravaged the country of the Taurisci. The approach of these Barbarians made Rome tremble; the new consuls, therefore, Caius Cæcilius Metellus, the fourth son of Metellus Macedonicus, and Cn. Papirius Carbo, the son of the seditious Caius Carbo, were no sooner chosen, than the senate ordered the latter to wait for the Cimbri at the farthest part of the eastern Alps, and stop the passes against them. Metellus was ordered into Macedon, to finish the war with the Scordisci, whom he so weakened by repeated battles, that he put them out of a condition of making for some time any new attempts upon the Roman provinces. Upon his return he was honoured with a triumph, in which there was this agreeable circumstance, that his brother, who had been consul a year before him, and was now returned from suppressing a rebellion in Sardinia and Corsica, after two years labour, was ordered to triumph with him. The consul Papirius was not so successful against the Cimbri, who offered him a peace, which he pretended to accept; but afterwards, by corrupting their guides, treacherously drew them into a snare, as he imagined, and attacked their camp.

*The Romans
defeated by
the Cimbri.*

Papirius promised himself certain victory. But what difficulties cannot a warlike people surmount, when actuated by despair and indignation? They ran to arms, and not only repulsed the legions, but, becoming the assailants, obliged them to abandon the field of battle in a most shameful manner. The Romans fled in the utmost confusion to the neighbouring forests, and there lay concealed for three days, without daring to appear in the open country. Upon the news of this defeat the consternation at Rome was universal: it was generally believed, that the Barbarians would pass the Alps, over-

(N) Vindelicia contained part of the present bishoprick of Passau, all Upper and part of Lower of Constance, of the Tirol, Bavaria.

run

run the provinces nearest to the capital, and attempt the destruction of Rome. But the Cimbri, upon what motive is unknown, turned their arms elsewhere; and, marching towards the country of the Helvetii (O), entered that way Transalpine Gaul, which they filled with desolation and slaughter.

This unexpected deliverance quickened the zeal of the Romans in punishing all accomplices in the late guilt of the Vestals. Among others, the famous orator M. Antonius, the grandfather of Marc Antony, the triumvir, was suspected of having carried on an unlawful commerce with the condemned Vestals. He was then in the flower of his age, had been lately nominated to the quaestorship of Asia, and was already at Brundisium, in order to embark for Pergamus. When advice was brought him, that his reputation was attacked, he immediately returned to Rome, appeared before the severe praetor Cassius, and desired that his cause might be heard without delay. The judge endeavoured to intimidate him by threatening to put his young slave to the torture, who was said to have been privy to his amours; but the slave offered himself to the rack, with an assurance which induced the judge to spare him^b. The quaestor of Asia was acquitted; and set out for his province with more honour than if he had not been accused^c.

M. Antonius accused,

and acquitted.

Rome was now in such tranquility, that she had only one war to finish with the Scordisci, who were already weakened, but in a condition to take arms, when the Romans should leave Macedon. The elections, therefore, were no sooner over, than M. Livius Drusus, raised to the consulate with L. Calpurnius Piso, was sent against them, while his colleague covered Italy against the invasion of the Cimbri, whose return was still dreaded. Drusus prevailed upon the Scordisci, partly by force, and partly by capitulation, to quit the country they possessed, and repass the Danube; which river, from this time, became a barrier between them and the Roman provinces. The consul, upon his return, was honoured with a triumph. The tranquility was so general in all the countries subject to the republic, that she would have shut the temple of Janus, if there had not been some appe-

The Scordisci settle on the other side the Danube.

^b Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 3.
^{xi} Vell. Patercul. lib. xxi.

^c Strab. lib. v. Plin. lib. Dio apud Vales. p. 626.

(O) The Helvetii inhabited Switzerland.

hensions from Jugurtha, whose wars make a considerable part of this history, and therefore must be traced a little farther back.

Birth, education, &c. of Jugurtha.

Masiniſſa, king of Numidia, who had been ſo remarkably devoted to the Romans, left three ſons, Micipſa, Manafſtabal, and Guluffa, joint-heirs of his kingdom, which they long governed in perfect amity. At length Micipſa, ſurviving his two brothers, poſſeſſed the realm alone. This good king had two legitimate ſons, Adherbal and Hiempſal. His brother Manafſtabal had likewiſe two ſons, Jugurtha and Gauda, by two different miſtreſſes; and Guluffa had a ſon, named Maſſiva, by a concubine. As natural children had no right to the crown, according to the laws of Numidia, Jugurtha, Gauda, and Maſſiva, were by their illegitimacy excluded from ſucceeding to the kingdom while Adherbal and Hiempſal, the lawful heirs, were alive. Though Jugurtha was born before the death of his grandfather Maſiniſſa, that king never acknowledged him as a prince of the blood-royal. However, Micipſa had ſo much regard for his brother Manafſtabal, that he cauſed Jugurtha to be educated in the palace with the young princes his children; but, growing jealous of him, he was ſent to the ſiege of Numantia, in hopes of his perishing in ſuch a dangerous ſervice. Jugurtha diſtinguiſhed himſelf at that memorable ſiege by extraordinary feats of valour; and at his return, brought with him recommended letters from Scipio, under whom he had ſerved^k.

He is ſent to the ſiege of Numantia.

Is adopted by Micipſa.

Age and experience having put a ſtop to his youthful follies, he was ſo far from giving umbrage to the king, that he gained his favour, and cultivated his friendſhip with ſuch addreſs, that the eaſy prince adopted him two years before his death, and made him capable of ſucceeding, as joint-heir, to his kingdom, with his own children. No ſooner was the old king dead, than diſputes aroſe among the three heirs of the kingdom. After ſome days they met to deliberate about the affairs of the new government, when Jugurtha who was the eldeſt, ſeated himſelf in the middle of the throne which was prepared for the new kings. Hiempſal, who was the youngeſt, thinking himſelf injured by the ſuperiority which Jugurtha aſſumed, ſeated himſelf by Adherbal's

^k Liv. lib. xxiv. cap. 48, 49. & lib. xxix. cap. 29—34. Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 2. Polyb. apud Valeſ. p. 174. Diodor. apud Valeſ. p. 386.

side, in order to give him the middle place, which was deemed the most honourable; and it was not without difficulty, that his brother prevailed on him to pay some regard to superior age, and remove to Jugurtha's left hand. When the disputes about the ceremonial were ended, Jugurtha proposed disannulling all the edicts the late king had published within the last five years, under pretence that Micipsa's understanding being then impaired by age, he had issued many ordinances prejudicial to the welfare of the kingdom. Hiempsal replied with a disdainful air, "I am willing to come into the proposal; and we will begin with disannulling the act, whereby you are associated with us in the inheritance of the crown; since that step was taken within the time which you have fixed for my father's dotage." These words sunk so deep into Jugurtha's mind, that he made it his whole business to find an opportunity of ridding himself privately of a young prince, who might thwart his ambitious schemes. At the siege of Numantia, he had contracted friendships with several young Roman officers, who had roused his ambition by exhorting him boldly to seize the kingdom as soon as the old king's eyes should be closed. They told him, that he would find friends and protectors enough at Rome, where any point might be carried with money and interest¹.

*Hiempsal
affronts
Jugurtha.*

Jugurtha, to gratify his ambition, and to revenge the late affront, suborned the chief officer of Hiempsal's guard to murder him; a deed which was actually perpetrated, to the great grief of the Numidians, who had founded their hopes on his courage, and uncommon understanding. The head of the young prince, thus treacherously assassinated, was carried to Jugurtha, who beheld it with pleasure. Though such notorious cruelty and perfidiousness ought naturally to have driven all the Numidians into revolt, yet they were divided among themselves. Those who hoped to reap advantage from the public confusions, sided with Jugurtha, while the wise and the virtuous, who had the good of their country at heart, declared for the pacific Adherbal. As the latter were by far the weakest, the young prince, though not very sagacious, had penetration enough to see, that his only refuge was in the protection of the Romans, to whom his rival could not but be suspected. He therefore acquainted the senators with the assassination of his

*Hiempsal
murdered
by Jugur-
tha's or-
ders.*

¹ Sallust. Bell. Jugurth.

brother; and, at the same time foreseeing, that the deliberations of the senate would take up much time, he began to levy troops, and put himself upon his defence against any attempt of Jugurtha: but this warlike prince soon got the ascendant over his surviving rival; and, by taking some cities by assault, and forcing others to capitulate, made himself master of almost the whole kingdom.

*Adherbal
flies to
Rome.*

Adherbal, having no asylum but Rome, conveyed himself thither, in order to lay his complaints before the senate. Jugurtha, at the same time, sent ambassadors to that capital, well furnished with money to gain over the republic to his interest. He knew that all things were venal at Rome; and therefore ordered his ambassadors to spare no expence in gaining him new friends, and in cultivating the friendships he had formerly contracted, when in Spain. Upon their arrival they found the senate strongly prepossessed against their master; but met with few senators who were proof against their presents. When the day came, on which Adherbal and the ambassadors were admitted before the senate, it was easy to perceive, by the debates of the fathers, what effect had been wrought by Jugurtha's money. The just complaints of Adherbal were despised, Jugurtha's courage extolled, and his crimes palliated. M. *Emilius Scaurus*, then prince of the senate, declared for Adherbal, and with him a few others; but a great majority were against him. The senate, therefore, without taking notice of the assassination of Hiempsal, or the usurpation of Jugurtha, only appointed commissioners to go into Africa, and divide the kingdom between the two rivals. *Lucius Opimius*, so famous for his zeal against the faction of *Caius Gracchus*, was at the head of this commission; and, as he had declared for Adherbal at Rome, Jugurtha had reason to dread his arrival and determinations. But this formidable judge, who had avenged the cause of the republic against the Gracchi, and their powerful party, was no sooner arrived in Africa with his colleagues, than Jugurtha gained them all over by dint of money. They found him innocent, and declared that Hiempsal's death had been occasioned by his own rashness. After they had pronounced this iniquitous sentence, they proceeded to the division of Micipsa's dominions, which was made upon the plan proposed by Jugurtha. To him were allotted the strongest places, and the richest provinces, without regard to the complaints of Adherbal, who, though thus injured, submitted to the judgment of the commissioners, and thought of nothing but reigning in

*Corruption
of the Ro-
man senate.*

in peace over the subjects which Rome had assigned him^a.

The ambitious Jugurtha, finding there was nothing to fear on the part of Rome, resolved to make himself master of all Numidia: with this view he entered the frontiers of his brother's kingdom, laid waste the country with fire and sword, pillaged the villages, and committed dreadful devastations. He hoped by these insults to provoke the resentment of Adherbal, and induce him to use reprisals; whence he might have a pretence to drive him from his kingdom, and to justify his conduct at Rome: but the timorous prince contented himself with sending an embassy to Jugurtha, to complain of the injustice of his proceedings; nor could even the ill treatment his ambassadors received at that prince's court, provoke him to take arms. Jugurtha, without ceremony, entered his dominions at the head of a numerous army, and encamped near Cirtha. Then Adherbal, seeing himself reduced to the necessity of taking the field, or abandoning his country a second time, thought it more advisable to run any hazards, than trouble Rome again with his complaints. Having, therefore, assembled his forces, and made new levies, he brought an army into the field; but more considerable for its number than courage. As he came in sight of the enemy, when the day was far spent, and it was too late to engage, he encamped in haste, in order to rest his troops, fatigued with long marches: but Jugurtha, without waiting for the return of day, attacked his brother's trenches in the dead of night, forced them, and put all to the sword who withstood him. Adherbal's army was dispersed in an instant, and the king himself forced to take refuge in Cirtha, his capital. Jugurtha fought every-where for his rival; but the prince had the good fortune to escape the fury of his enemy. Some Italian cohorts, he had in his army, covered his retreat, and hindered the conquerors from entering the city with the conquered. But for this seasonable relief, the war had been begun and ended the same day^b.

Jugurtha begins the war against him.

Adherbal marches against him.

Is defeated.

Cirtha besieged.

However, the siege of Cirtha was not delayed a moment. Jugurtha, who remembered the lessons he had learnt of Scipio before Numantia, pushed it on with vigour; though the valour of the Italian troops protracted it longer than he expected. News were brought to Rome of these proceedings; but the usurper's money had such an

^a Sallust. Bell. Jugurth.

^b Idem ibid.

Commissioners sent to effect an accommodation.

effect there, that the senate sent only a kind of mock-commission into Africa to persuade the parties to an accommodation. The commissioners found Jugurtha untractable: he told them, that he did not doubt but his conduct would be approved by the senate, who were well acquainted with his integrity; that, Adherbal having made an attempt upon his life, he had been obliged to raise troops to guard against the villainy of a brother, who was an assassin; and that the republic was too equitable to disapprove of a just defence, which was agreeable to the laws of nations. With this answer he dismissed the deputies, without suffering them to confer with Adherbal.

Adherbal writes to the senate.

When they were gone, Jugurtha pursued the siege; and, following the method which he had seen Scipio take in Spain, encompassed the place with a wide ditch, and a rampart guarded with towers, at proper distances, to exclude succours and convoys. In this extremity, Adherbal prevailed on two soldiers of the garrison to cross the enemy's trenches in the night, and carry a very affecting letter to Rome. When it was read in the senate, some voted for marching an army immediately against the usurper; but the venal senators, who were most numerous, opposed this motion, and reduced the decree to this single point, that a second deputation should be sent to Jugurtha, consisting of men eminent for their probity, and venerable for their age; and that M. Scaurus, president of the senate, should be at the head of it. As the affair required dispatch, the deputies were ready to set out in three days; soon crossed over into Africa; and, landing at Utica, summoned Jugurtha to appear before them. He was thunderstruck at this summons, and long in suspense what resolution to take. At length he resolved to make a general assault upon the place, and not to appear before the Roman ambassadors, till he had completed his conquest: but he did not succeed in his attempt, his soldiers being repulsed with considerable loss by the Italian cohorts.

New commissioners sent into Africa.

Scaurus began to be tired with these delays; and, as it was dangerous to provoke him, Jugurtha, leaving his camp, came guarded by a small body of horse to plead his cause before the ambassadors. Scaurus broke out into bitter invectives against the Numidian king, reproaching him with having basely assassinated one of his brothers, and shut up the other in his metropolis, with an intention to destroy him by famine; he ordered him to raise the siege forthwith, under pain of being declared and deemed an enemy

enemy to the senate and people of Rome, who had taken the innocent and injured Adherbal under their protection. But the anger of the Roman was soon appeased; he heard Jugurtha's excuses with great composure, acquiesced in the frivolous accusations he brought against his rival, and returned home without having ordered the cruel and ambitious king to raise the siege. This sudden departure entailed upon Scaurus the suspicion of having sacrificed the public good to his private interest; and his conduct afterwards confirmed the suspicion.

*They suffer
Jugurtha
to continue
the siege.*

Jugurtha having got rid of the Roman ambassadors, returned to the siege of Cirtha, where a famine beginning to rage, the Italian troops persuaded Adherbal to capitulate, and thereby secure his life, leaving the rest to the Roman republic. Adherbal, not thinking it safe to reject the advice of armed troops, began, with the utmost reluctance, to treat with his rival; and agreed to deliver up the place, on condition that he and his garrison should have their lives spared. This Jugurtha readily promised; but he no sooner entered the city than he put all he found in arms to the sword; extended his fury even to the foreign merchants; and, to complete the scene, seized on Adherbal, and inhumanly murdered him in his own palace, after having made him suffer the most exquisite torments his cruel temper, and the desire of revenge, could invent. The news of this murder soon reached Rome, where it was heard, by all honest men, with the utmost horror and indignation. The friends of Jugurtha endeavoured to postpone the decree, which was ready to pass against him, in hopes that time would abate this first heat; and indeed the villainy of the Numidian king would have escaped public vengeance, had not a zealous tribune, named Caius Memmius, acquainted the people in the comitia with the heinous crimes that were laid to that prince's charge, and bitterly exclaimed against the venality of the senate. The people, convinced by their tribune, that the prevarication of the patricians was the effect of the money which the emissaries of Jugurtha had distributed among them, resolved to bring the affair before their own tribunal. Alarmed at this design, the fathers, to avoid the reproach of a scandalous censure upon themselves, decreed, that as soon as the elections were over, one of the new consuls should have Numidia for his province; a decree equivalent to a declaration of war against Jugurtha *.

*Cirtha
surrendered
upon terms.*

*Adherbal
murdered,
and the
garrison
put to the
sword.*

Yr. of Fl.
2218.
Ante Chr.
110.
U C. 638.

*The senate
resolve to
make war
upon Ju-
gurtha.*

* Sallust. Bell. Jugurth.

*Character
of the new
consuls.*

When the anniversary of the elections arrived, the assembled tribes promoted to the consular dignity two men of very opposite characters, Lucius Calpurnius Piso Bestia, and P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. The latter possessed all the virtues of his ancestors, had always rejected with indignation the offers of Jugurtha, and expressed a great detestation of the corruption of the senate. The former was a man of great personal bravery, active and vigilant, a strict observer of military discipline, and consequently fit to strike terror into an enemy, and command respect from his own troops : but these valuable qualities were tarnished by the most sordid avarice ; for he looked upon war merely as a trade, and means to get money. Numidia unfortunately fell to Bestia's lot, and Italy to Nasica's. The former began to make the necessary levies, and prepare for his expedition ; while Jugurtha, being informed by his emissaries at Rome that a consular army was raising against him, and that Calpurnius Bestia was to command it, immediately dispatched his son to Rome, attended by two lords of distinction, with orders to spare no expences in keeping steady his old protectors, and purchasing new friends. Though his crimes had made such a noise that no person could espouse his cause openly, yet he did not doubt but the blow might be still averted by the power of money. The consul Bestia, who looked upon his African expedition as a glorious harvest, heard with great concern the news of the Numidian prince's arrival in Italy : he was afraid lest, by his intrigues and presents, he should prevail upon the senators to postpone the war, from which the consul proposed to reap great riches. He therefore opposed the embassy with all his interest, and got a decree passed, ordering Jugurtha's son, and his attendants, to depart from Italy in ten days, unless they were come to deliver up the king of Numidia and all his dominions to the republic, by way of dedition. This decree being notified to them by the consul, they immediately returned, without having entered the gates of Rome.

*Jugurtha's
son sent to
Rome.*

*But is or-
dered to
quit Italy.*

*Bestia
chooses for
his council
the most
eminent
men, and
with what
view.*

Upon their departure Bestia hastened his preparations. As he was not ignorant that he might be one day called to an account for his conduct, he had the precaution to choose for his council and lieutenants some of the most eminent members of the senate, under pretence that he stood in need of persons consummate in the art of war,

¶ Sallust. Bell. Jugurth.

and

and well skilled in negotiations ; but his real design was to throw upon them the odium of his future misconduct, and screen himself, under their names and credit, against all inquiry. Scaurus appeared to him a very proper man for his purpose, both on account of his extreme avarice and his weight in the senate. Scaurus readily consented to follow the consul, promising himself great wealth from a war which was to be carried on in a country never before entered by any Roman army. All things being ready, the legions marched by land to Rhegium, where they embarked for Sicily, and from Sicily crossed into Africa. The consul, upon his arrival, briskly attacked Jugurtha's dominions, reduced several cities, took some castles, and made a great many prisoners.

*He arrives
in Africa.*

These acts of hostility did not much affect the Numidian king. Though he was not acquainted with the consul's character, he conceived great hopes from the presence of Scaurus, to whose avarice he was no stranger ; he therefore sent a deputation to the consul, desiring a conference, and promising to come to the Roman camp, upon an assurance of safety for his person. The offer was accepted ; and from that moment a suspension of arms took place. To bring the Numidian king to the conference he had desired, and, at the same time, to save appearances, the consul and Scaurus agreed to send the quaestor, P. Sextius, to the city of Vacca, where Jugurtha resided, under pretence of receiving a certain quantity of corn, which, they said, the king had promised in order to obtain a truce ; but their real intention was, that he should be an hostage for the king's safety, who, upon this proof of their sincerity, came to the consul's camp. A council of war was assembled to hear his proposals ; but he there only made some excuses, endeavoured to clear himself from the crimes laid to his charge, and dropped a few words about a dedition. The rest was settled between Bestia, Scaurus, and himself, in private conferences ; and it is not to be doubted that Rome was betrayed by these avaricious men, since they granted the king better terms than could reasonably have been expected. They only obliged him to give the republic a certain number of horses and cattle, thirty elephants, and a very inconsiderable sum of money. Upon these terms they made a solemn treaty of friendship with a tyrant, who had treacherously murdered two kings, usurped their dominions, and despised the orders of the senate. All men suspected that Jugurtha had paid the consul and his lieutenant

*Jugurtha
sends a de-
putation
to him.*

*The cor-
ruption of
Bestia and
Scaurus.*

tenant very dear for a peace, which was so little to the honour of the Roman name: however, the respect which the senators had for Scaurus, their president, kept them in suspense, no one daring to propose disannulling the treaty, till they had heard the particulars of the agreement from the consul himself and from Scaurus².

*Minutius
marches
against the
Scordisci
and Tri-
balli, and
defeats
them.*

Scipio Nasica dying, and the time for the great elections approaching, Bestia, the only surviving consul, was recalled to preside in the comitia, in which M. Minutius Rufus and Sp. Posthumius Albinus were chosen consuls. Numidia fell by lot to Posthumius, and Macedon to Minutius. The latter marched against the Scordisci, who, though driven back beyond the Danube, repassed that river every winter on the ice, and laid waste the Roman provinces. The Triballi, a people of Lower Mœsia, and the Daci, of Upper Mœsia, had joined them, and penetrated as far as Macedon, where they committed the most dreadful devastations. The consul, having attacked them among rocks and mountains, put them to flight, and obliged them to cross the Hebrus, on the banks of which river the battle was fought. As the river was then frozen, the enemy ventured to cross it on the ice; but that breaking under the weight of their heavy carriages, the river swallowed up great numbers, and the rest dispersed; so that Minutius, after having settled all those countries in peace, returned to Rome the following year, where he was honoured with a triumph¹.

*Memmius
excites the
people a-
gainst Ju-
gurtha and
his accom-
plices.*

The people were little affected with the success of these wars in the North; their whole attention was turned towards Numidia. The peace lately made with Jugurtha was looked upon with detestation at Rome: the senators, indeed, continued silent, out of respect to their head; but, Caius Memmius, tribune of the people, addressed himself to the comitia; and, after having bitterly inveighed against the senate, concluded his speech in this manner: "We are told, that the Numidian has yielded up to the republic himself, his troops, his strong places, and his elephants. Let us convince ourselves of the truth of this assertion, by summoning Jugurtha to Rome. If he has truly submitted, he will obey your orders: if he does not obey, you may judge, that what they call a treaty is nothing but a collusion between that crafty prince and our generals." His discourse inflamed the public animosity to the highest degree. As the people could know with

¹ Sallust. Bell. Jugurth.
Vell. Patercul.

² Liv. Epit. Front. Strat. lib. ii.

certainly only from the mouth of Jugurtha himself, whether Opimius, Scaurus, or Bestia, had been corrupted with his money, they, upon this consideration, likewise passed a decree, summoning Jugurtha to appear before their tribunal. The prætor Cassius, a man of great address, and unspotted probity, was thought a proper person to carry the decree of the people into Numidia. Accordingly he was charged with this important commission, and set sail, without delay, for Africa, where he found the army universally corrupted: the inferior officers, and the private men, following the example of their general, thought of nothing but acquiring riches; some had sold to Jugurtha the thirty elephants which he had given to the republic; others had set the deserters at liberty for money, plundered the countries of their allies, and committed every-where most dreadful ravages. The prætor, without taking notice of these disorders, which it was not his province to correct, applied himself to cure Jugurtha of his suspicions, and to persuade him to come to Rome*.

*Jugurtha
summoned
before the
people.*

*Corruption
of the Ro-
man army.*

The Numidian, after a long struggle with himself, resolved to comply with the orders of the Roman people; having for his safeguard the public faith, and, what he chiefly relied on, the word of Cassius. A great honour, it must be confessed, to the Roman people, to see the powerful and warlike king of Numidia come to Rome in compliance with their summons, and, by that act of obedience, acknowledge their sovereignty! The king, to raise compassion, entered the city without any pomp or attendance, and dressed in a very negligent manner. He was no sooner arrived than he had recourse to his usual expedient, money. He knew that the securing of one of the tribunes was sufficient to put a stop to all proceedings before the assembly of the people; and therefore, without loss of time, gained, with a large sum, one of the ten, named Caius Bebius Salca, a man of great boldness, and unbounded avarice. Having secured this point, he presented himself before the people assembled; when the tribune Memmius reproached him with his ingratitude to the family of Micipsa, his cruelty, his excessive ambition, the murder of his two adopted brothers, his disobedience to the orders of the senate, and his private intelligence with the commissioners. The zealous tribune ended his speech with these words: "You would never have car-

*Jugurtha
comes to
Rome.*

* Sallust. Bell. Jugurth.

ried your audaciousness to such a height, if you had not been supported by a Roman faction, which you have purchased with money. We know them all; their zeal for supporting you in your iniquity has betrayed them; but it concerns us to have their names from you. You may hope for all favour from the faith and clemency of the Romans, if you honestly declare to us, without any evasions, the persons whose protection you have purchased. If you conceal or disguise the truth, you are irrecoverably lost. Speak, Jugurtha, speak, and answer the expectations of the Roman people."

*He is by
Bebius
forbidden
to speak.*

*Escapes
with im-
punity.*

While Jugurtha was preparing to reply, Bebius, the mercenary tribune whom the king had purchased, stood up; and, with an imperious tone, "Though they press you to speak, Jugurtha, (said he), I enjoin you silence." This unexpected opposition raised such murmurs and clamours as would have confounded a man of less impudence and intrepidity than Bebius: but he obstinately persisted in his opposition; so that the people, betrayed by one of their own magistrates, were forced to break up the assembly, without having received the least information. Jugurtha, having escaped the judgement of the people with impunity, carried his villainy to an excess scarce to be imagined. We have observed, that Gulussa, brother to Micipsa, left an illegitimate son named Massiva. This prince had espoused the cause of Adherbal, as the most just; but, after the reduction of Cirtha, and the cruel death of the king his relation, he had fled for refuge to Rome, where the few men of honour whom Jugurtha could not corrupt encouraged him to demand of the senate and people the crown of his ancestors, which Jugurtha had forfeited by the crimes he had committed. The consul Posthumus Albinus, to whose lot Numidia was now fallen, being that prince's friend, and most zealous protector, at his motion the people were inclined to bestow the crown of Numidia on this prince, who, though he had not been adopted by Micipsa, was of the blood-royal, and grandson to Masinissa. Jugurtha, to defeat at once all the designs of his enemies, caused Massiva to be assassinated in Rome, and in the face of the republic. The wretch who executed the villainy was seized, and brought before the prætor, to whom he confessed that he had been hired by Bomilcar, one of the king's attendants, to commit the murder. Bomilcar was cited to appear; but Jugurtha found means to convey him privately out of Rome, and send him into Africa. Upon the sudden dis-
appearing

*Causes
Massiva
to be assas-
sinated.*

appearing of Bomilcar, all the odium of the assassination fell upon Jugurtha.

As the treating that prince like a criminal was contrary to the promise made him, he was ordered by the senate to quit Rome immediately. He retired accordingly, without taking leave of the senate; and, for fear of being stopped, made all possible haste to embark at the nearest port. As he was on the road, he looked back on the city, and cried out, "O mercenary city! thou wouldst even sell thyself, if thou couldst find a man rich enough to purchase thee." He was no sooner gone, than the senate disannulled the infamous peace which Bestia had made with him; and then Posthumius Albinus, having raised the necessary troops, repaired to Africa, flattering himself, that he should be able to put an end to the war before the year of his consulate expired, though it was already far advanced: but the artful Numidian amused him, at one time pretending to be ready to surrender himself to the Romans, at another declaring, that he would sooner part with his life than his crown. When the consul began to push on the war with vigour, he sent deputies to treat of a peace, and promised to submit to all that was demanded of him; but, when he was pressed to perform his promise, he found out pretences to defer the execution of the articles which he had agreed to. Thus by different evasions he gained time, which he improved to the best advantage in the regulation of his affairs. The consular year being almost ended, Posthumius was obliged to return to Rome, to preside in the comitia for the new elections; so that he left Africa without having concluded any thing either by action or treaty. Upon his arrival at Rome, he was loaded with the curses of the people, and suspected of having betrayed his country, as his predecessors had done. It was not believed, that the Numidian could have found means by artifice alone, and without any connivance in the general, to suspend the operations of a large army, which Rome maintained in Africa at a great expence^t.

The consul, on his return, found great disturbances in Rome, occasioned by some tribunes of the people. Licinius Crassus had passed a law against luxury and expensive tables; and C. Manilius another, for erecting a tribunal to try those whom Jugurtha had corrupted. Both tribunes employed all their influence to be conti-

Is ordered to quit Rome.

The peace made with Bestia disannulled.

The Licinian law against luxury.

^t Sallust. Bell. Jugurth.

rued in office; but all they could do was to protract the elections, which at last came on, when Q. Cæcilius Metellus and M. Junius Silanus were chosen consuls. During their administration, the commissioners appointed to try those who had been corrupted by Jugurtha ended their enquiries, after they had been two years in that commission. Scaurus, the most guilty among them, was artful enough to get himself nominated at the head of the commission, which he discharged with the utmost severity, punishing many who were less criminal than himself. He condemned to banishment several consular men, and even one pontifex. He did not even spare his accomplice Lucius Calpurnius Bestia, but banished him with the late consul Sp. Posthumius Albinus, and the famous prosecutor of the Gracchi, L. Opimius, who died of want at Dyrrhachium. Thus Scaurus, who had been most scandalously bribed by Jugurtha, not only escaped punishment, but judged and punished others for having suffered themselves to be bribed.

The Romans defeated by the Cimbri.

The new consuls having drawn lots, Narbonne Gaul fell to Silanus, who marched against the Cimbri and Teutones; but his army was routed at the first onset, and, in consequence of this defeat, all Narbonne Gaul exposed to the ravages of those Barbarians. Rome only continued mistress of those cities which the Cimbri could not take for want of skill in carrying on sieges.

As for Metellus, it fell to his lot to make war in Numidia, where he was attended with success. Jugurtha had gained a considerable advantage over the Roman army, after the departure of the late consul Posthumius Albinus. That general, before he left Africa, had given the command of the army to his brother Aulus Posthumius, whose only qualification was, his being the consul's brother. He no sooner saw himself at the head of forty thousand men, than he resolved to take advantage of the consul's absence, in order to acquire both riches and glory. Though the troops were in winter-quarters, and the month of January was a very improper time for military expeditions, he assembled all his forces, marched into the field, and, through roads almost impassable, brought them before Suthul, in Numidia, where the king's treasures were lodged. This was the lure that drew him; but the castle stood upon the brow of a hill, and was surrounded by marshes, which in the winter

Aulus Posthumius besieges Suthul in Numidia.

made it inaccessible. However, Aulus, blinded by his avarice, ventured to besiege it. Jugurtha, overjoyed to see him lose his time, and tire his troops, in so difficult an undertaking, caused several proposals to be made to him, as if he dreaded the success of his arms. To keep up his presumption, he sent deputies from time to time to beg peace in as submissive terms as if he had been under the greatest apprehensions. He did not, however, neglect to advance with his army, as if he intended to throw succours into the place. As he drew near Suthul, he pretended to be terrified at sight of the Roman forces; and, in order to increase the confidence of the general, he retired through difficult roads. Aulus, quitting Suthul, pursued him close, lest he should make his escape. The crafty Numidian, who was well acquainted with the country, drew him insensibly into narrow passes, and then returned to his usual artifices: he held the general in so great contempt, that he did not think it worth his while to bribe him; but he applied himself to the officers and soldiers of the army, and gained over, by his emissaries, not only two cohorts of Thracians, and one of Ligurians, but many of the legionaries, who basely agreed to sacrifice the good of their country, and the lives of their fellow-citizens, to their private interest. As Jugurtha's camp was not far from that of the Romans, the king ordered his light-armed Numidians to mount the enemy's ramparts in the dead of the night; a service which they actually performed with incredible agility, and filled the camp with terror and confusion. In the mean time the chief officer of the third legion, pursuant to his agreement with Jugurtha, opened to him two gates of the camp; and being joined by the Ligurian and Thracian cohorts, covered the Numidian army, as they entered. The Romans, with their general, abandoned the camp, and fled in the utmost confusion. The slaughter was not great, the darkness of the night favouring the retreat of the fugitives; they fled through the two other gates of the camp, and, taking different roads, gained a neighbouring eminence. When it was day, Aulus found scarce any of his men wanting, except those who had sold themselves to the enemy; but the greatest part of them had thrown away their arms, that they might fly with more expedition *.

*Is betrayed
by his
troops.*

*Jugurtha
takes the
Roman
camp.*

* Sallust. Eutrop. Oros. *ibid.*

*The Roman
army passes
under the
yoke.*

*Metellus
sent into
Numidia.*

Early next morning Jugurtha surrounded the hill on which the Romans were posted; and then Aulus, seeing himself besieged by a victorious enemy, sent a deputation to Jugurtha, demanding quarter only, and offering a lasting peace, which he would undertake to get ratified by the senate and people. The Numidian answered, that he would grant the Romans life and liberty, upon condition that they should all pass under the yoke, and quit Numidia in ten days. To this disgrace the timorous general submitted, and marched, with all his army, between two posts set up for that purpose, amidst the taunts and shouts of the Numidian soldiers. The Roman troops, thus disgraced, disbanded themselves, and retired into the African province, that is, the ancient dominions of Carthage, which were now possessed by the republic. The senate was no sooner informed of this shameful peace, than they declared it void, and recalled Aulus, who was soon after tried by Scaurus, and condemned to banishment. Metellus, to whose lot Numidia had fallen, hastened the necessary preparations for carrying on the war with the utmost vigour. He was a senator of great virtue and integrity, and besides had given proofs of uncommon valour and prudence in the command of armies; so that all things seemed to promise success to his enterprize. The Romans, fully persuaded that it would not be in Jugurtha's power to corrupt Metellus, readily decreed the recruits he desired, and, at his request, even disannulled some laws which reduced the pay of the legionaries. The people refused him nothing which he thought necessary for carrying on the war, and wiping off one of the greatest reproaches that had been cast on the Roman name since the disgrace of the Caudine forks.

*Marius
lieutenant
to Metel-
lus.*

As for Metellus himself, his chief concern was to choose such subalterns as he could confide in, and whose skill in the arts of war had been already proved: among these was the famous Marius, who, as he had neither birth, fortune, nor eloquence, sufficient to raise him to the first dignities, had continued idle at Rome ever since his prætorship; he therefore joyfully accepted the offer Metellus made him, of being one of his lieutenant-generals. When all things were ready, the consul set out without delay, and, landing in Africa, employed the summer in disciplining his troops, who were dispersed about the province in the utmost disorder, declaring, that he would not suffer them to engage, till they had learnt how to conquer, Jugurtha, finding he had to oppose

a ge-

a general whom he could neither over-reach nor bribe, sent an embassy to him, with all possible marks of a sincere submission, begging only quarter for himself and children. Metellus, suspecting the Numidian of double-dealing, opposed artifice with artifice. He took each of the ambassadors aside, and prevailed upon them to promise, that they would deliver up to him the usurper, dead or alive; but this project being disconcerted by the circumspection, vigilance, and suspicions of the king, the consul resolved to attack him with open force.

Accordingly he entered Numidia, and, though no enemy appeared, kept himself constantly upon his guard against a surprize. His troops always marched in order of battle; Metellus led the advanced guard at the head of the archers, slingers, and light-armed troops; Marius commanded the cavalry of the legions in the rear; and Rutilius, another of Metellus's lieutenants, conducted the foot in the centre. In this order the consular army appeared before Vacca, a trading city, full of Italian merchants, which, upon the first summons, received a Roman garrison. From Vacca the consul advanced, in the same order, towards the centre of Numidia. In the mean time Jugurtha, having drawn together his forces, lay in ambush for the Romans, waiting to engage them as they should come down from a mountain which stood directly in the consul's road. Metellus no sooner reached the top of the mountain, than he discovered men and horses concealed among the bushes, which were not thick enough to cover them; and being convinced, as he drew nearer, that the enemy were placed in ambush there, he changed both the route and disposition of the army: he ordered Rutilius to march down the hill another way, and pitch a camp on the banks of the Muthullus, about twenty thousand paces from the hill. This was a wise precaution, to secure water for his troops in that dry and burning climate. As he was resolved to leave the hill on his right hand, he altered the disposition of his troops, and made his right wing much stronger than usual, knowing it would be most exposed to the enemy. In the centre he placed his infantry, intermixed with some manipuli of light-armed troops; and ordered his cavalry to cover the army in the flanks.

In this manner he marched down the steepest part of the hill, and advanced slowly towards the plain. Marius commanded in the centre; and Metellus in the right wing, which was most exposed to the first attack. As soon as the

*Metellus
enters Nu-
midia.*

*Vacca sub-
mits to him.*

*He marches
with
caution.*

consular troops began to descend, Jugurtha, having ordered two thousand men to take possession of the top of the mountain, which the Romans had quitted, founded the charge. The Romans faced about; but could not bring the Numidians to a close engagement. From the summit they discharged showers of darts, which did great execution. When attacked by the Roman cavalry, they dispersed, and fled singly, entering the coppices, whither the enemy durst not pursue them. They then rallied, and, falling out again, fell unexpectedly on the consular army in different quarters. Never was a more extraordinary battle fought; they all engaged in small parties, every one attacking the enemy, or defending himself, as occasion offered, without any rule or order. The day was far advanced, before it could be known which side had the advantage. Both armies were equally tired, and exhausted with heat and fatigue; and many had fallen on both sides in the several attacks, which had succeeded one another, without intermission, from morning to night: at length the Numidians, towards the close of the day, being vigorously attacked by the Roman legionaries, and pursued from post to post, dispersed, and no more appeared *.

*Jugurtha
defeated by
Metellus.*

*Rutilius
gains the
same day
another
victory.*

While Metellus was thus engaged on the mountain, Rutilius, who had been sent by the consul to pitch a camp on the banks of the Muthullus, was vigorously attacked by Bomilcar, one of the king's generals. But that brave Roman repulsed the enemy with great slaughter; and, having pursued them, took four of their elephants, and killed the rest to the number of forty: so that the consul gained two victories on one day. Metellus continued his march all night, and arrived before day-break with all his troops at the camp on the Muthullus, which he found finished. Here he received intelligence, that the Numidian, being abandoned by his army, had retired to a distant place, covered with woods and rocks, and was there employed in forming a new body of forces. The Roman general did not think it advisable to follow the fugitive king, but contented himself with sending out parties to plunder the country. Jugurtha behaved with the address and ability of a great commander: he seemed to be in all places; appeared, when least expected, at the head of a flying army; and, falling upon the Romans dispersed about the fields, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and then

*Jugurtha
harasses
the Ro-
mans.*

* Sallust. Bell. Jugurth. & Plut. in Mario.

retired

retired to the mountains and forests. News being brought to Rome of the victory gained by Metellus, and his lieutenant Rutilius, the temples were opened, and supplications made by way of thanksgiving to the gods for the success which had attended the arms of the republic in Numidia. The probity, disinterestedness, valour, and wisdom of Metellus, were universally extolled.

*Metellus
applauded
at Rome.*

In the mean time Rome raised Ser. Sulpitius Galba and Q. Hortensius to the consulate. The latter, who was father to Q. Hortensius, Cicero's rival in eloquence, either declined the burden of the office, or was prevented by death from enjoying that dignity; for M. Aurelius Scaurus was chosen in his room. At the same time Metellus was continued general of the Roman army in Numidia, with the title of proconsul. Italy fell by lot to Galba, and Narbonne Gaul to Scaurus, whither he repaired to make war upon the Cimbri, who had reduced almost that whole province. To return to Numidia: Marius, whose ambition was awakened by the applauses Rome had given his general, became his rival, narrowly watched all his steps, and seized every opportunity that offered to defame his character. The point he had now in view was, to raise himself at the expence of his general and benefactor. He was impatient to obtain the consulship, that he might put an end to the Numidian war, and be honoured with a triumph. His pretensions were supported by all those qualifications which are requisite in a great commander: he was famous for valour, love of discipline, an ascendant over the soldiers, a temperance carried to the severest abstinence, intrepidity in sudden dangers, coolness and presence of mind in battle, and an extraordinary readiness at expedients: but Marius was destitute of those virtues and dispositions of mind which form the character of an honest man.

*The ingratitude
of
Marius to
Metellus.*

*Marius's
character.*

Metellus, who perceived the designs of Marius, began to be jealous of him, and to fear lest he should be supplanted by him at the end of the year. He therefore resolved not to give any advantage to his malicious rival by ill conduct: he took care to have his convoys strongly guarded, and always sent out his whole cavalry together, ordering them not only to pillage the country, but to destroy whole towns with fire and sword. The Numidian, seeing his country utterly ruined by this new way of making war, at last quitted his fastnesses, and followed

*Metellus
jealous of
him.*

*Metellus
resolves to
besiege
Zama.*

*Jugurtha
defeated by
Marius.*

*Jugurtha
surprises
the Roman
camp.*

*Is driven
out by Ma-
rius.*

the Romans; being always intent both on surprising and avoiding the enemy. He burnt up the forage, and poisoned the waters, in all places, where the legions were to pass. He was every moment harassing either Metellus or Marius, and, as soon as he had attacked them vigorously in the rear, he immediately regained the mountains. Metellus, finding he could not draw Jugurtha to battle, resolved to force him to it: in order to this, he determined to besiege Zama; but Jugurtha, upon the first notice of his design, flew thither, and placed a strong garrison in it of Roman deserters, on whom he could depend. Then he hastened to Sicca, whither the proconsul had detached Marius for provisions. He was desirous of entering the lists with that commander, who had been his intimate friend, and had learnt the military art with him under Scipio at the famous siege of Numantia. He arrived just as Marius was marching out of the city with his convoy, and fell upon him with a fury not to be expressed; but the Roman repulsed him, and, though surprised, behaved with such presence of mind, and intrepidity, as made him ever after dread the name of Marius.

When the convoys arrived, Metellus invested Zama, and made a general assault upon the place: but the besieged repulsed the assailants, and discharged such showers of darts, stones, and firebrands, upon them, that they were obliged to retire in the utmost confusion. During the heat of the action, Jugurtha appeared on a sudden; and, as most of the legionaries left to guard the Roman camp were gone to see the attack, he made himself master of one of the gates. Some of the Romans, who guarded the tents, ran to their arms; others fled in a shameful manner; but a small body of forty men only, posting themselves on an eminence within the camp, defended it with surprising valour, till Marius came to their relief; for Metellus no sooner heard, that the king had surprised his camp, than he detached against him that brave commander with all the cavalry. Marius flew with joy to a second engagement with the Numidian, forced his way into the camp, and obliged the king to retreat by one of the gates, and shelter himself among the rocks. Metellus, after a vain attempt upon the town, retired to pass the night in his camp. Next day he renewed the attack, but with no better success, the besieged, who were all Roman deserters, repulsing the enemy with unparalleled bravery. During the assault, Jugurtha appeared; but, after a sharp conflict, was put to flight by the cavalry, which
Metellus

Metellus had posted, with some manipuli, on the road the king had taken the day before. Night coming on, the proconsul returned to his camp. As the season was far advanced, and the garrison made a resolute defence, he thought it advisable to raise the siege, and put his troops into winter-quarters in the Roman province².

The siege of Zama raised.

As Metellus did not doubt but he should be continued in the command of the army till all Numidia was reduced, he employed his time in making the necessary preparations for the next campaign; and found means to have a private interview with Bomilcar, who, as we have related, had been the chief agent in the murder of Massiva. Bomilcar was greatly attached to Jugurtha; but, as he was a Numidian, Metellus did not despair of prevailing upon him to betray his master. He therefore not only promised him impunity, but assured him of the protection of the republic, in case he should either dispatch Jugurtha, or deliver him up alive into his hands. The Numidian hearkened to the proconsul's offers, and treacherously persuaded Jugurtha, that it was become absolutely necessary to surrender himself up to the Romans without reserve: "Prevent (said he) the fatal designs which your own subjects may have on your life. Have recourse to the Roman clemency, and depend on the sincerity of their offers. Metellus has even more honour than bravery." The king, not suspecting any treachery, was prevailed upon to dispatch an embassy to the proconsul, acquainting him, that he was ready to submit to such conditions as he should think fit to impose. Upon this intimation, Metellus, having assembled from all the places, where the army was quartered, such officers as were of senatorial families, held a council of war, in which it was agreed, that the king of Numidia should, by way of preliminary, send the Romans two hundred thousand pounds weight of silver, with all his elephants, and a certain number of horses and arms, and deliver up all the deserters. The king complied with these hard conditions, and immediately ordered all the deserters, to the number of about three thousand, mostly Thracians or Ligurians, to be seized, and sent to the proconsul, by whose orders some had their hands cut off, others were set in the ground up to their waists, and shot to death by the Roman archers, and the rest burnt alive³. The other articles were likewise executed with great punctuality; the elephants,

Jugurtha enters into a treaty with the Romans.

Jugurtha delivers up his elephants, money, arms, &c.

² Sal. *ibid.* Plut. in Mario. Oros. lib. v. cap. 3.
lib. v. cap. 3.

³ Oros.

horses, and arms, required by the proconsul, were delivered up, and the money paid.

but afterwards resolves to pursue the war.

The king having stripped himself of his money, his elephants, his horses, and his deserters, in whom consisted the strength of his army, the proconsul ordered him to repair in person to Tifidium, a city in Numidia, there to receive farther directions. He was startled at this command, began to hesitate, and several days passed without his being able to come to any resolution. The remembrance of his enormous crimes stung him with remorse; he dreaded the severe punishment, which his guilty conscience represented to him as due for so many murders; the charms of a crown, and the horror of falling from a throne into slavery, made so deep an impression upon his mind, that he resolved to try once more the fate of war. "A sceptre, (said he), is not so heavy as chains. To arms! to arms! let us renew the war. It is better to perish at the head of an army, than to fall at once from empire to slavery." From this time he never shewed the least inclination to peace: he was now intent on raising a new army, on fortifying the places which continued faithful to him, on providing arms, and endeavouring to surprise those cities which had surrendered to the Romans. Vacca was an important post, of which Metellus had made himself master soon after his arrival in Africa, and given the government of it to Turpilius Silanus, a citizen of Collatia, a man of known equity and moderation, and his intimate friend. Turpilius, free from all pride and avarice, gained the affections of the inhabitants by the mildness of his government; but their aversion to a foreign yoke prevailed over the esteem they had for their governor. The chief men of the city suffered themselves to be gained over to the interest of Jugurtha, and contrived among themselves the massacre of the Roman garrison.

raises a new army.

The Romans massacred in Vacca.

To compass their treacherous design, they took the opportunity of a public festival to invite the officers to feast at their houses; and, when they had eat and drank plentifully, every man, as had been agreed on before-hand, stabbed his guest. Such as rushed out into the streets, were overwhelmed and killed with stones from the tops of the houses; so that Turpilius was the only man who escaped the common massacre. The proconsul no sooner heard of the revolution in Vacca, than he ordered the legion which was quartered near him to arms; and, joining with them a great number of those Numidians

who

who had submitted to Rome, marched in person to avenge the blood of the Romans. The inhabitants had shut their gates for fear of a surprize; but, when they saw from their ramparts a body of Numidian cavalry advancing towards their city, without committing any devastations, they concluded that Jugurtha must be at the head of them, and, upon this presumption, marched to meet him. Their mistake proved fatal to them: the Numidian cavalry fell upon the disarmed multitude, and cut them in pieces; and in the mean time the Roman legion coming up, seized the gates of the city, retook and plundered it. Thus the treacherous inhabitants of Vacca, after having enjoyed their liberty but two days, were brought again under subjection, and treated with the utmost severity^a. *Vacca retaken.*

Though Metellus was fully convinced, that Turpilius was not guilty, he was obliged by the clamours of the army, contrary to his own inclination, to have him tried by a council of war. Marius, who was one of his judges, merely in opposition to Metellus, became his accuser. He charged him with having sold the town, and the lives of the Romans under his command, laid great stress on the distinction shewn him in having his life alone spared, and prosecuted the affair so warmly, that he was condemned to be first scourged, and then beheaded. Soon after the execution of the sentence, the innocence of Turpilius plainly appeared: then the other officers made their apologies to the proconsul for the sentence they had pronounced, and bewailed with him the unfortunate end of a man whom he had judged worthy of his friendship; but Marius publicly rejoiced at the death of Turpilius, and had even the insolence to boast, that he had found means to torment Metellus with a perpetual remorse, and an avenging fury, which would be continually requiring of him the innocent blood of his friend^b. *Marius's insolent conduct.*

Upon the news that the senate and people were inclined to continue Metellus in the command of the army, till the war with Jugurtha was ended, Marius's hatred to his general broke out into open attacks. He began with decrying and calumniating him among the soldiery; he represented him as an ambitious man, who prolonged the war only to keep himself the longer in power and command; he pretended that the natural sloth and timidity of Metellus, which were increased by age, made him incapable of opposing an active and vigilant enemy; he *Defames his general.*

^a Sal. *ibid.*

^b Sal. Plut. *ibid.*

boasted among the common soldiers, with whom he made himself very familiar, that, with half the troops Metellus had in his army, he would undertake, in one campaign, to bring Jugurtha to Rome, dead or alive. Whatever Marius said, the soldiers wrote to their relations and friends at Rome. These letters being communicated from house to house, prejudiced the people against Metellus, and raised the reputation of his lieutenant, who, not content with advising the soldiers to send unfavourable accounts of their general to Rome, went so far as to beg the votes of the Roman merchants at Utica, for choosing him consul at the next election, in order to enable him to supplant his general and benefactor. He also prevailed on Gauda, the brother of Jugurtha, but by a different mother, who had come over to the Romans, and whom Metellus had disoblged, to write to the senate against the proconsul, and much in his own favour. These solicitations proved very advantageous to Marius, who, being informed, by his emissaries at Rome, of the inclination of the people towards him, desired leave of the proconsul to return to Rome, to make interest for the consulship. Metellus, though a man of great honour and probity, was not quite free from that pride which is almost inseparable from noble birth. He therefore received this application with an air of disdain, and answered Marius with a kind of raillery; "It will be soon enough for you, Marius, to stand for the consulship, when my son shall be old enough to be your colleague." In short, the proconsul told his lieutenant in plain terms, that he would not give him his discharge, so long as he had any occasion for his service.

*Marius
asks leave
to return to
Rome.*

At the same time he reminded Bomilcar of the promise he had made of delivering up Jugurtha to him, dead or alive. Bomilcar, who had been suspected by the king ever since he advised him to surrender, communicated to Nabdalsa, a Numidian of distinction, very high in favour with Jugurtha, his design of sacrificing the king to the welfare of his country. Nabdalsa readily entered into the plot, in hopes of securing his great estate, together with his own life, and the lives of his children. The two traitors agreed to surprise their king, and carry him to the proconsul; the time was fixed for the execution of the design, and the ambush prepared. On the day appointed, Bomilcar came to the place agreed on; and if Nabdalsa had performed his part, an end would have

*A conspiracy
against Ju-
gurtha.*

been put at once to the Numidian war ; but Nabdalsa not appearing, Bomilcar wrote a letter, reminding him of his promise, and representing, that the affairs of Jugurtha were desperate ; that he must soon perish, either by their hands, or the hands of the Romans ; that it was in vain to sacrifice their estates, their liberty, the lives of their wives and children, for an usurper and assassin ; that, by delivering him up to the Romans, they would save their country from impending ruin, secure their lives and estates, and gain the favour of the powerful republic, &c. This letter was delivered safe into Nabdalsa's hands, while he lay on a couch, resting himself after violent exercise. When he had read it, he laid it on his pillow, and, musing upon the contents of it, fell asleep.

In the mean time his secretary, coming into the room, and finding a letter open, read it, in order to answer it ; but, being shocked at the proposals of Bomilcar, went immediately to acquaint the king with the discovery he had made. Nabdalsa soon after waked, missed the letter, and, finding upon enquiry, that his secretary alone had been in his room, and had suddenly disappeared, he dispatched, without delay, some of his attendants after him ; but the letter was already in the king's hands. Nabdalsa hastened to court, and assured the king, that he would have discovered the plot if his treacherous servant had not prevented him. Jugurtha, for fear of raising a sedition (for Nabdalsa was beloved by the soldiery), seemed to be satisfied with the excuse ; but condemned Bomilcar, and most of his accomplices, to die ^d. The loss of Bomilcar frustrated the hopes of Metellus, who thereupon resolved to take the field.

which is discovered,

and Bomilcar executed.

As he was now tired with the importunities of Marius, he gave him leave to go to Rome, but only twelve days before the election. Ambition lent Marius wings, for he reached the city in six days after his setting out, and there made the best use of the little time he had left to gain the favour of the people. He calumniated the proconsul, assuring the people, that, as he was well acquainted with the country, and more vigorous and active than Metellus, he would, with half the troops the proconsul commanded, in one campaign take Jugurtha, dead or alive ; in short, he omitted nothing that could either discredit his general or enhance his own reputation. As the nobility had of late constantly chosen two patricians to the consulate,

Marius obtains leave to go to Rome.

^d Sall. Plut. Vell. Paterc. *ibid*.

contrary

Yr. of Fl.
242.
Ante Chr.
106.
U. C. 642.

*Is chosen
consul and
successor to
Metellus.*

*The Ro-
mans de-
feated, and
pass under
the yoke.*

*Marius's
insolent be-
haviour.*

contrary to the ancient law, that one of the consuls should be a patrician, and the other a plebeian, the people were displeased with the patricians in general, and bent on promoting Marius, who bore an irreconcilable hatred to the nobility. All the populace of Rome crowded to his house; the artificers left their shops to attend him; and nothing was heard in the comitia but the praises of Marius, and invectives against Metellus. He was raised to the consulship by a great majority, with L. Cassius Longinus. His next business was to supplant his benefactor, and get himself nominated to succeed him in the command of the army in Numidia. The senate had already, by a special decree, appointed Metellus to be proconsul in Numidia for the third year; but Marius applied to the people by their tribune Manilius Mancinus, and, at his motion they determined, that Marius alone should carry on the war with Jugurtha *.

His colleague had Narbonne Gaul for his province, where he fell into an ambush laid for him by the Tigurini. L. Calpurnius Piso, one of his lieutenant-generals, a man of resolution, prudence, and courage, endeavoured to rescue him, but perished, with his general, in the attempt. Then the Roman army was left to the conduct of the other lieutenant-general, named Popilius, an officer of no valour, and very little merit of any other kind. He, to save his life, shamefully surrendered his arms and baggage, and, with his whole army, passed under the yoke. As soon as he returned to Rome, where his name was become odious, he was accused before the people, and prosecuted with uncommon zeal; but he went into banishment before sentence was pronounced against him †. Æmilius Scaurus, prince of the senate, was, in consequence of undue influence, elected consul in the room of Cassius, for the remaining part of the year.

But to return to Marius: being invested with the supreme magistracy, he treated the nobility with contempt, declaring, that it was matter of greater glory and triumph for him to have humbled the senate, by obtaining of the people the command of the army in Numidia, which the senate had given to Metellus, than it would be to subdue that kingdom and lead Jugurtha in chains. He insulted all the patricians he met, and abused them in the grossest manner: all his speeches to the people were filled with his own praises, and with bitter invectives against the no-

* Plut. in Mario.

† Tacit. de German. Morib. Cæf. de Bell. Gall. lib. i. Cic. de Legib. lib. iii.

bility and the senate. His great popularity encouraged him to demand a greater number of troops than the consuls had been usually allowed, and to send, of his own authority, to demand auxiliaries of the nations and kings who were in friendship with the republic. At Rome he made his levies with the utmost rigour, obliging those, who were famed for valour in all parts of Italy, to come to Rome, and take the military oaths, though they had already served the time required by law; but the people approved of the severities of their plebeian consul, and were so zealous to follow him into Africa, that his legions were soon completed, and filled with men of the lowest classes, who were exempted by their poverty from the service. These Marius preferred to any others, as if he had been afraid of having soldiers in his troops who were of a better condition than himself ^s.

Metellus, ignorant of what passed at Rome, and not doubting that he should be continued in the command of the army till the entire reduction of Numidia, took the field, and having, after long and tedious marches, discovered Jugurtha, posted in places which he thought inaccessible, he forced him to a battle, in which the Numidians were defeated and dispersed. The king escaped by flight through a vast desert; and retired to Thala, a place well fortified, where he had lodged his jewels and treasures. Metellus followed him cross the desert, which was about fifty miles in extent, carrying with him corn enough to support the army fourteen days, and a great number of skins and barrels filled with water. The inhabitants of Thala, who thought their city inaccessible, were struck with terror at the approach of the Roman army. The king, dreading to be shut up in the place, immediately abandoned it, and rambled from desert to desert, his fear of being betrayed keeping him from fixing any where; but the garrison, consisting of deserters from the Roman army, made all the resistance that could be expected from brave men driven to despair. When, after forty days siege, the Romans had made a breach in the wall of the city, the garrison finding it impossible for them to avoid destruction, carried all the valuable things they could find to the king's palace, set fire to it, and perished to a man in the flames. The proconsul had scarce entered the place, when he was informed, that Hamilcar, a citizen of Great Leptis, was labouring secretly to gain

*Jugurtha
defeated by
Metellus.*

*Thala be-
sieged by
Metellus,*

and taken,

^s Plut. in Mario. Sall. in Bell. Jugurth.

over his countrymen to Jugurtha. Upon this intelligence he immediately detached thither four Ligurian cohorts, under the command of Caius Anicius; and by these means kept the neighbouring country in a state of tranquillity.

*Jugurtha
arms the
Getuli.*

Jugurtha, having now neither troops nor a place of refuge, determined to treat in person with a people who had never yet heard of the Roman name. These were the Getuli, a barbarous nation, who inhabited the interior parts of Africa, and led their flocks from pasture to pasture, living in tents, without any fixed habitation. The king having found means to induce them to follow his standards, assembled the scattered shepherds, and taught them to keep their ranks, and obey the officers he set over them. From Getulia the Numidian king advanced to the confines of Mauritania, where Bocchus reigned over an African people, less barbarous, and better disciplined, than the Getuli. As that prince had married one of Jugurtha's daughters, he was prevailed upon to enter into an offensive and defensive league with the Numidian. The king, being joined by the Getuli, and all the forces of Bocchus, appeared anew in the field, and approached Cirtha, the capital of Numidia, which Metellus had formerly taken, and made a magazine of arms and provisions for his army. This motion obliged the proconsul to alter his conduct; he no longer offered battle, or bid defiance to the enemy, but kept close within his entrenchments, and there watched the motions of the two kings, being determined to venture nothing for fear of losing all^a.

*Joined by
an African
king.*

*Metellus
concerned
at the pro-
motion of
Marius.*

Such was the state of affairs in Numidia, when news were brought to Metellus of the promotion of Marius to the consulate, and likewise to the command of the army. The proconsul, though a great and wise man, was astonished to hear that a plebeian, a creature of his own, raised by his family from the dust, had found more credit and favour at Rome than himself, notwithstanding his nobility and exploits. He was so much affected that he could not forbear weeping, forgetting the dignity of his character. After all, he was not so much grieved, as Sallust informs us, at the glory he lost, as at the advancement of Marius, who had decried his conduct, only to raise himself upon the ruins of his reputation: however, as in great minds the public good prevails over private resentment, the proconsul spared no pains to detach

^a Plut. in Mario. Sall. in Bell. Jugurth.

Bocchus from Jugurtha, though he knew this would greatly facilitate the reduction of Numidia for his rival. He spent the whole time he remained in Numidia in private negotiations with that prince, who became less pressing to give battle, and seemingly indifferent to the interest of his ally.

At length advice came, that Marius was landed at Utica, with a very numerous body of Romans and allies. As Metellus could not bear the thoughts of paying homage to the new consul, who had so treacherously and basely supplanted him, he instantly left the camp, which he had pitched near Cirtha, and returned to Italy, after having appointed Rutilius, one of his lieutenants, to deliver up the army to his ungrateful rival. His presence at Rome, and the account he gave of the success of his arms, of the towns he had taken, of the provinces he had conquered, and of the battles he had fought, soon effaced the calumnies which had been circulated to his prejudice. The esteem and respect which had been formerly shewn for that great man revived; he was received with acclamations; and the people, to atone for their injustice, decreed him, with an unanimous consent, the honour of a triumph, and the surname of Numidicus¹ (O).

*Marius
lands in
Africa.*

*Metellus
decreed a
triumph.*

*Marius
disciplines
his troops.*

Marius put himself at the head of the army; but, as the troops he had brought with him were for the most part new levies, he did not care to run the hazard of a general action; he only attended to the motions of the

¹ Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 2.

(O) Velleius Paterculus observes here, that there were at this time above twelve persons of the family of Metellus in Rome, who had been successively raised either to the consulate or censorship, and many of them honoured with triumphs, in less than twelve years⁽¹⁾. But, notwithstanding his nobility, his exploits, and his great reputation for probity, a tribune of the people had the boldness to accuse

him of having plundered the province from which he came; but when he produced his books in his defence, the Roman knights, who were judges in these civil causes, refused to examine his accounts, declaring, that they thought the whole course of his life a stronger proof of his innocence than the wax on which he had set down his disbursements and receipts⁽²⁾.

(1) Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 2.
Cic. ad Attic. lib. i. Epist. 16. & pro Balbo, n. 2.

(2) Val. Max. lib. ii. cap. 20.

*Marches
through
the burn-
ing sands
of Africa.*

two kings, besieged some weak places, and prevented the enemy from making incursions into the countries which had submitted to Rome. Marius having thus spent the summer without any considerable exploit, his troops began to despise him, and to look upon Metellus as a much better general than his successor. To remove these prejudices, he resolved on an enterprize which would be sufficient to raise his reputation, and eclipse the glory of his predecessor. The city of Capsa stood in the middle of the burning sands of Africa, surrounded on all sides by a vast desert, which rendered it almost inaccessible, especially by great armies. This city he resolved to besiege. Having provided corn and water, he set out on his march, without communicating his design to his lieutenants. He marched only by night, the rays of the sun being so strongly reflected by the sand, that his men could not bear the heat by day. In this manner he crossed that inhospitable country, which was inhabited only by serpents. After three nights march the army arrived within two miles of Capsa before day-break. They then halted among some hills, which covered the city, and intercepted the sight of the legions; and there waited, as in ambush, till the sun appeared: then Marius detached his light-armed infantry to seize the gates; and appearing at the same time with his whole army before the place, struck the inhabitants with such terror, that they offered to surrender, upon condition that they should have their lives spared; but Marius, to fill all Numidia with the dread of his name, entered the place sword in hand, levelled it with the ground, put all the citizens, who were able to bear arms, to death, and sold the rest for slaves^k.

*Takes and
razes
Capsa.*

*Besieges
Mulucha.*

This barbarity spread universal terror; the people, wherever he came, submitted to him; and many, without waiting for his presence, sent deputies imploring his protection, and offering to supply his army with all sorts of provisions. He marched to the utmost confines of Numidia; and in that long march met with one place only which refused to submit. This was a castle called Mulucha, situated on the summit of a rock, and perhaps the strongest fortress then in the world: it was of no larger extent than the top of the rock, which was one body of flint, standing by itself, and naturally so smooth, that there was not the least hold for the hands, or projection for the feet to rest on. The only way to it was what the

^k Plut. Sal. *ibid.*

inhabitants had cut in the rock, so narrow, that two men could not without difficulty, walk a-breast in it. Marius undertook the reduction of the place; but the besieged threw such a quantity of firebrands from the tops of their ramparts, and rolled down the rocks such vast stones, that the machines were burnt, and those who managed them dangerously wounded. The attempt was often renewed, but always proved fruitless; besides, the castle was so well stored with provisions and ammunition, and the season so far advanced, that the Roman general could not entertain any hopes of reducing it by famine: yet he persisted; and at length carried it by means of a Ligurian soldier, who discovered by accident a particular part that was accessible.

Soon after the reduction of Mulucha, Lucius Cornelius Sylla landed at Utica with a reinforcement for the consular army. He was by birth a patrician, and descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome. He had something engaging in his conversation, was of a graceful aspect, noble air, easy, affable, insinuating, and ever ready to oblige all, even at the expence of his own fortune, which was very small; for his branch of the Cornelian family had been long eclipsed. In his youth, he fell in with the customs of the young patricians of his time, and gave himself intirely up to pleasure and debauchery, keeping company with lewd women, stage-players, and buffoons. A courtesan, named Nicopolis, supplied him plentifully with money, which was the fruit of her debaucheries; and, as the young Roman proved constant to her, she left him great wealth at her death. Soon after this legacy, his mother-in-law likewise died, and left him a plentiful estate. From that time, he began to be tired with a private life; and, his wealth rousing his ambition, he demanded, and obtained, the quaestorship the same year that Marius was raised to the consulate. The people, whom he easily gained by his obliging carriage, appointed him to serve under Marius, who was ready to set out for Africa; but that general, thinking a man of pleasure could never prove a good soldier, or that a body, enervated by vice and debauchery, could bear the fatigues of war, was displeased with the quaestor allotted him; and therefore left him behind in Italy, under a pretence of raising a reinforcement of auxiliary troops among the allies, but in reality to get rid of a man, of whose talents for war he had but a very mean opinion. The quaestor obeyed, and came not to the army till

Birth and character of Sylla.

Raised to the quaestorship, and appointed to serve under Marius

*Sylla's
change in
conduct.*

till after the reduction of Mulucha, when the troops were ready to go into winter-quarters. The moment he arrived in Africa, he threw off the man of pleasure, was always ready to undertake the most painful and laborious services, contented himself with the food of the common soldiers, and, by affecting to imitate Marius, gained his esteem and friendship: so that nothing now seemed wanting but an opportunity of giving proofs of his valour. It was the quæstor's province to supply the troops with provisions, and the necessary sums for carrying on the war; but this office did not exempt him from danger, or prevent his commanding the troops. In an action the quæstor performed the office of the first lieutenant-general of the army, immediately under the chief commander; and in this office Sylla signalized himself, and carefully improved the opportunities that offered of recovering the time he had lost¹.

*The two
kings sur-
prise Ma-
rius.*

Marius, after the reduction of Mulucha, retired towards the sea-coast with a design to put his troops into winter-quarters in the maritime cities, that, by this disposition they might be the more easily supplied with provisions. In his retreat, his army was surprisèd by the united forces of the two kings, who, coming unexpectedly upon them towards the close of the day, charged them with great fury. As the Romans were not armed for action, nor drawn up in battalia, the legionaries, being hard pressed by the Mauritanian and Getulian cavalry, began to give ground. But the Roman cavalry arriving very seasonably, opposed the enemy with distinguished resolution, and sustained the shock of their cavalry, till the legionaries put themselves in a posture of defence. Then a tumultuary battle, or rather a great fray, ensued: none of the soldiers repaired to their colours, but fought, without any rule or order. Marius and his quæstor distinguished themselves on this occasion in a very conspicuous manner: the latter fell furiously on a troop of Barbarians, who had already surrounded one of the manipuli, and cut most of them in pieces; the former seemed to be in all places at once, and, being attended by a body of chosen troops, obliged the enemy to give way wherever he appeared. When it began to grow dark, Marius retired by degrees to two neighbouring hills; and, having there rallied his troops, fortified in all haste that which was least steep, posting his men on the declivity of the two hills, and in

*The gallant
behaviour
of Marius
and Sylla.*

¹ Sal. in Bell. Jugurth. Plut. in Syll. & Mar.

the valley between them. At the foot of one of the hills was a plentiful spring of fresh water, which yielded a very seasonable refreshment to troops fatigued with a long march, and a warm engagement.

The two kings surrounded the hills, on which the Romans were posted, with incredible numbers of Numidians, Mauritanians, and Getulians, who looked on this action only as the beginning of a certain victory, which they should complete at the rising of the sun. Jugurtha did not doubt but he should be able to extinguish the Roman name in Numidia; and the African soldiers looking upon the consular army as a devoted prey, kindled great fires, danced round them with loud shouts, and passed the best part of the night in feasting and rejoicings. Marius, who saw, from the eminence on which he was encamped, all that passed, kept within his intrenchments, till the enemy, tired with dancing and revelling, retired to their tents to refresh themselves with sleep, that they might be able to renew the attack at break of day with more vigour. He then drew out his legions in order of battle; and, placing all the trumpets in the first line, advanced in silence and good order towards the enemy. When he was within a proper distance, the trumpets sounded the charge, and made so terrible a noise, that the Barbarians, who were most of them asleep, had not in that surprize the courage to take up their arms, but fled, many half-naked, in the utmost confusion. The Romans pursued the fugitives, and made a dreadful slaughter of the disarmed multitude.

The Romans surrounded.

Marius surprises and puts them to flight.

Four days after this defeat, they again came up with the Roman army, hoping to find them once more off their guard. But Marius, who was ready to receive them, made such a havock of the enemy, that he had reason to believe the war was near ended. The enemy's army, which had been just reinforced by a numerous body under the command of Volux the son of Bocchus, and consisted of ninety thousand men, was almost entirely cut off. Jugurtha, on this occasion, exhibited uncommon proofs of his valour and conduct. At the head of his cavalry he broke through the first line of the Romans, and, shewing his bloody sword to the legionaries, cried out in the Latin tongue, which he had learnt at the siege of Numantia, "Marius is dead. This sword is stained with his blood." Dispirited by this declaration, the second line of the Romans began to give ground, and the Numidians, animated

The kings defeated a second time.

*Sylla's
bravery.*

by the example of their king, renewed the charge with more fury than ever. Sylla, having routed the numberless forces of Bocchus and Volux, arrived very seasonably at the head of the cavalry, revived the courage of the legionaries, and, falling upon the enemy's flank, deprived them of a victory which they thought certain. The Numidians were forced to fly before Sylla, who, seizing all opportunities to efface the prejudices entertained of his effeminacy, performed wonders. Jugurtha, who retired with his Numidians, narrowly escaped falling into his hands. Thus Sylla displayed for the first time his courage and intrepidity greatly to his advantage. Marius conducted the whole action with the prudence of a great commander, and Sylla executed the orders of his general with uncommon valour^m.

*Bocchus
treats with
the Ro-
mans.*

The labours of the campaign were succeeded by negotiations. Bocchus, who had been long inclined to peace, sent an embassy to the consul, desiring him to dispatch some persons, to whom he might safely communicate his thoughts. Marius appointed Sylla his quæstor, and Manlius one of his lieutenants, to wait upon the king. In their first audience Sylla endeavoured not only to draw off Bocchus from Jugurtha, but to prevail upon him to deliver up the Numidian king alive into the consul's hands. Bocchus, without taking any notice of what Sylla had said on that head, only begged leave to send an embassy first to the consul, and then to Rome, to negotiate a peace and alliance with the Roman senate and people. This request the quæstor readily granted, and immediately set out with his colleague Manlius for Cirtha, where Marius then was in winter-quarters. They were soon followed by five ambassadors, all men of great distinction, from the king of Mauritania; but Marius being gone from Cirtha to surprise a castle at a great distance, which was said to be full of Roman deserters, the ambassadors proceeded to Utica, where Sylla commanded the main body of the army in the consul's absence. Sylla received them with the highest marks of honour; and, upon the return of the consul, who failed in his attempt upon the castle, their proposals were accepted, a truce was agreed on between the Romans and Mauritanians, and two of the ambassadors were sent back to carry the news to the king, while the other three embarked for Italy with the second quæstor

*Sends am-
bassadors to
the consul,
and to
Rome.*

^m Sal. & Plut. *ibid.*

Cneius Octavius, who was lately come from Rome with large sums for the payment of the troops, and other expences of the war^a.

When they arrived at Rome, they found C. Attilius Serranus and Q. Servilius Cæpio in the consulate. The latter had Narbonne Gaul, and the former Italy, for his province. Marius was continued in the command of the army in Africa, in quality of proconsul, and Sylla confirmed in his office with the title of proquæstor. The senators, when they had heard from the ambassadors the request of their master, returned the following answer: "The senate and people of Rome are not easily reconciled to those who have dared, without any provocation, to bear arms against them. Nevertheless, the repentance of Bocchus disarms us. Let him enjoy the truce with which Marius has favoured him, and the peace which we now grant him. As to an alliance with Rome, it is incumbent on him first to deserve it by some important service." By this expression Bocchus knew was meant his delivering up Jugurtha; and, being resolved to comply with the desire of the senate, he entreated Marius to send Sylla to him, in order to facilitate the execution of his design.

A peace is granted him by the senate.

Sylla accordingly set out for Mauritania with a numerous guard of cavalry, light-armed infantry, archers, slingers, and a whole cohort of Peligni. After five days march he was met by Volux, the son of Bocchus, at the head of a thousand chosen men. The proquæstor received the king's son with all the politeness and address that were natural to him, and marched with him the first day without the least appearance of distrust. At sun-set they encamped together; then Volux, entering in great haste the Roman commander's pavilion, told him, that he was informed by his scouts, that Jugurtha was near with a body of troops far superior to their's, when joined together. "Let us fly (said the young prince), and leave our camp and men to the mercy of the enemy. I will take upon me to conduct you to a place of safety in the dark." The brave proquæstor, shocked at this proposal, replied resolutely, "Shall I fly before an enemy who has been so often vanquished? Shall I be coward enough to abandon my men without a leader? I know the valour of my troops; and either they shall conquer with me, or I perish with them." However, Volux prevailed on Sylla to de-

Sylla sets out for the Mauritanian court.

Is met by Jugurtha.

^a Sal. & Plut. ibid.

camp immediately, and pursue his march in silence. Jugurtha, being informed of what had happened, got the start of them, and posted himself on the road through which the Romans were to pass. When the troops, after having marched all night, observed early the next morning Jugurtha's army encamped about two miles from them, they cried out, "We are betrayed; Volux has sold us to Jugurtha; let us kill the traitor." Sylla, assuming an air of security, encouraged his men to behave like Romans; and then, taking Volux aside, "I am fully convinced (said he), that you have betrayed us; but that I may not be as wicked as yourself, I will save your life. Begone from the camp this minute, and join the army which Jugurtha has brought against us." The Mauritanian astonished, in appearance, at these words, replied, "I cannot think Jugurtha so imprudent as to insult an ambassador, who is under the protection of the son of the only friend he has in the world. His sole aim in stopping the way into Mauritania is, to make a merit with the republic of giving Sylla a free passage through the midst of his troops. You will see him embrace, with pleasure, the opportunity that now offers of making his court to you. Let us go together, without any troops: he will let us pass unmolested."

*Jugurtha
suffers Syl-
la to pass
through his
army.*

Sylla thought this a dangerous experiment; but nevertheless, resolved to run the hazard of it; and accordingly, followed only by his attendants as ambassador, he passed through Jugurtha's army without molestation. The Numidian, by thus suffering Sylla to pass unmolested, hoped to gain his friendship, and be included in the peace. Be that as it may, Sylla, from this extraordinary piece of good fortune, was ever after called the Fortunate. After he had thus happily escaped the hands of Jugurtha, he proceeded with Volux to the court of Bocchus, where he was received in the most respectful manner. The king, who still wavered between Rome and Numidia, gave audience to Sylla, and Aspar, the king of Numidia's agent, at the same time. The former delivered his message with all the pride of a Roman, in these words; "I only come to know, whether you will have war or peace? Take your choice, that I may be gone." Bocchus made this short reply; "I am not yet determined. I will take ten days to consider of it, and then declare my resolution." Bocchus was inclined to favour Jugurtha, but dreaded the power of the Romans; and therefore made it his business to deceive both ambassadors. However, he seemed to

*His nego-
tiations
with Boc-
chus.*

pay most deference to Sylla, with whom he had, the night following, a private conference in his own apartment; when he declared, that his arms, auxiliaries, money, and in short the whole power of his kingdom, were entirely at the disposal of the senate and people of Rome. "I give up (said he), Jugurtha to your resentment; and am determined to lend no farther assistance to a prince who has incurred your displeasure. What more can you desire?" Sylla, not content with his promise to abandon the interest of Jugurtha, employed his eloquence and address so successfully, that he undertook to betray that prince, who was his own father-in-law, into the hands of the Romans.

Accordingly, next morning Bocchus sent for Aspar; and, with an unusual air of gaiety, told him, that the Roman ambassador seemed inclined to include his master in the treaty of peace. "Inform him, therefore (said he), that the critical time for putting an end to so destructive a war is come; and advise him to hasten hither, and finish the negotiation in person." With these good news Aspar immediately set out for Jugurtha's camp; and, in eight days, returned to Bocchus's court with this answer: that his master was very desirous of putting an end to so troublesome a war; but that, as the senate often disannulled the treaties concluded with their consuls, no wise man would enter into negotiations with them, unless he had some security for the performance of the articles; that in the present case he saw nothing that could secure to him the peace which Marius was negotiating, except the delivering up of the proconsul's ambassador into his hands; that if he were detained, this would be a powerful motive for the senate to confirm a treaty which they could not break but by sacrificing so illustrious a patrician. The Mauritanian was so struck with this proposal, that he immediately came into it; so that he had now basely engaged to deliver up the Roman to the Numidian, and the Numidian to the Roman. As he had solemnly given his word to both ambassadors, they equally expressed their satisfaction. There was no distrust or jealousy between them; each depended on the promise made him, and looked on his rival as ensnared and sacrificed by the treacherous king.

*The double
treachery
of Bocchus.*

Bocchus still continued wavering; his heart was with Jugurtha, but his interest inclined him to favour Sylla: he did not determine which of the two he should betray to the other, till the very night before the appointed conference

*He is at a
loss which
to betray,
Sylla or
Jugurtha.*

*Enters at
last into
measures
with Sylla.*

Yr. of Fl.

2243.

Ante Chr.

105.

U. C. 643.

*Jugurtha
delivered
to Sylla,*

ference between himself, Sylla, and Jugurtha; for the latter, depending upon the promise of his son-in-law, had left his army, and was already encamped, with a small body of chosen troops, within reach of the court. When Bocchus received advice of the approach of Jugurtha, he fell into greater perplexity than ever; he could not prevail upon himself to betray Jugurtha, his relation, his friend, and his ally; and he was afraid to seize Sylla, and, by that piece of treachery, draw upon himself, and his posterity, the vengeance of the powerful republic. He passed the night in great anxiety, and was observed to walk to and fro in his apartment with unusual agitations of body, to change colour often, and to fall into deep reflections. He at length came to a final determination; and, having sent for Sylla, entered into measures with him for drawing Jugurtha into the snare. A very high hill was appointed for the place of the conference: thither Bocchus, by the advice of Sylla, sent some troops before day-break, with orders to conceal themselves among the neighbouring rocks, and invest the hill as soon as Jugurtha should appear upon it. This precaution being taken, Bocchus and Sylla, upon advice that the king of Numidia was drawing near, set out together to meet him. After the first civilities, the two kings, and the Roman ambassador, proceeded towards the hill: Jugurtha was so fully persuaded, that his son-in-law was going to deliver the illustrious Roman into his hands, that he took no other guard with him but some few friends. When they arrived at the top of the hill, the Mauritanians came out of their ambush; but this sight did not in the least affect the king of Numidia, though naturally very suspicious. He believed they were coming to seize Sylla, and therefore expressed great joy in seeing himself, as he imagined, sure of his prey: nor was he undeceived, till the detachment, falling upon his attendants, cut them in pieces, and then surrounded and seized him; he scarce believed his own eyes, till he was delivered into the Roman ambassador's hands, who loaded him with chains, and set out with him, under a strong guard, for Cirtha, which Marius had chosen for the usual place of his residence. When Sylla entered that city with the captive king, the Roman army received him with loud shouts, and such demonstrations of joy, and marks of esteem, as cannot easily be described. They looked upon him as the chief conqueror of Numidia; and this circumstance raised the envy of his general, who could not help shewing his displeasure

displeasure at the praises which the soldiery so liberally bestowed on the proquæstor. Never was there greater joy in Rome, than at the sight of the illustrious captive, whom Marius sent them from Africa. By the taking of Jugurtha the war in Numidia was at an end, and that great kingdom entirely reduced. The captive king was kept in close confinement, to grace the triumph of the proconsul, when he should return from Africa.

and sent to Rome.

During these transactions in Numidia, the consul, Q. Servilius Cæpio, to whose lot Transalpine Gaul had fallen, recovered the city of Tolosa, now Toulouse, the capital of the Tectosages, from the Cimbri; but stained the glory which this conquest deserved, by his avarice and rapine: for he gave the city up to be plundered by his soldiers, though the inhabitants themselves had delivered it into his hands, and robbed the temples of those immense sums which the Tectosages were said to have deposited in them, after having plundered the famous temple of Delphi (P). The consul pretended to set apart a considerable share for the public treasury, and sent it away under a small guard to Marseilles; but at the same time he placed a more numerous body on the road, by which it was seized and privately brought back to his own coffers. However, as he had retaken Toulouse from the Cimbri, he was continued in the government of Narbonne Gaul, with the title of proconsul°. During the present consulate two great men were born, who will furnish us with ample matter for the sequel of this history; namely, the great Pompey at Rome, and the celebrated Cicero in the territory of Arpinum, a city of the Volsci.

Cæpio recovers Toulouse from the Cimbri.

The avarice of Cæpio.

Pompey and Cicero born.

* Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. Plutarch. Aul. Gell. lib. xv. & Epist. ad Attic.

(P) Those writers among the ancients, who are the most modest in their computations, make the sum, which Cæpio found in the temple of Apollo in Toulouse, amount to a hundred thousand pounds weight of gold, and as many of silver. Strabo, Pausanias, and Polybius, assure us, that not one of those Gauls, who were concerned in plundering the

temple of Delphi, returned home. The immense treasures, therefore, with which the temples of the Tectosages were enriched, could not have been brought from Delphi; but were most likely, according to Strabo and Pausanias, dug out of the silver and gold mines, with which the country of the Tectosages formerly abounded.

The dominions of Jugurtha divided.

The following year P. Rutilius Rufus, and Cn. Mallius Maximus were advanced to the consulate; the former a patrician of known abilities, and unspotted reputation; the latter, a man of no birth or talents. Nevertheless, it fell to the lot of Mallius to carry on the war with the Cimbri in Transalpine Gaul, at the head of a new army, while his colleague continued inactive in Italy. Marius was continued proconsul in Numidia, where he divided the dominions of the deprived king, in the following manner: that part which lay next to Mauritania, and was known by the name of Massæsyliæ, was assigned to Bocchus; and from this time took the name of New Mauritania. Numidia, properly so called, was divided into three parts; one was given to Hiempsal, another to Mondrestal, who were, without all doubt, the next heirs to Masinissa; and the third, which lay next to the Roman province, the republic reserved for herself, and subjected it to the prætor whom she annually sent to govern the African province.

The Gauls march to join the Cimbri.

The consul Mallius hastened into Gaul, to assist the proconsul Cæpio, who was not strong enough to stop the inundation of the Gauls, who were marching from all parts to join the Cimbri, with a design to cross the Alps, and invade Italy. The Ambrones, the Tigurini, the Tugenes, the Urbigines, and all the nations that inhabited the country now known by the name of Switzerland, were in motion to join the northern Gauls, who had made themselves masters of almost all the country between Narbonne and the Pyrenees. Mallius, soon after his arrival, quarrelled with Cæpio. Their disputes were carried to such a height, that the officers of the two armies, finding they could not by any means agree, advised them to separate: a fatal advice, which brought the republic into greater danger than had ever threatened her since the foundation of the city. The Barbarians no sooner saw the Roman forces divided, than they fell upon a strong detachment of the consular army, commanded by M. Aurelius Scaurus, a lieutenant-general of great distinction, who had been consul three years before, cut them in pieces, and made Scaurus himself prisoner. Mallius, greatly intimidated at this defeat, thought proper to call Cæpio to his assistance: but the proconsul answered in disdain; "We have each our province; let the consul take care of himself." However, he afterwards drew

A detachment under Scaurus cut in pieces, and himself taken.

nearer to the consular army, fearing Mallius might conquer the Gauls without his assistance, and have all the glory of the campaign. He therefore encamped in the way through which alone the enemy could pass, in order to attack the consular army; hoping, that he should be able to withstand them with his own troops, and thereby deprive his rival of the opportunity of sharing the honour of the victory.

The Cimbri, when they saw the two generals draw near each other, concluded, that they had settled their differences, and were in union and friendship. They therefore sent deputies to the consul, to propose a peace. As these deputies could not help passing through Cæpio's army, he ordered them to be brought before him; and, finding that they were impowered to act only with Mallius, treated them like spies, and would have put them to death, had not the legionaries and officers of his army restrained his fury, and forced him to go to the consul's camp, and confer with him on the proposals which the enemy had sent to the republic. As he went to the consul's tent against his will, he opposed him in all things, contradicted him with great obstinacy, and insulted him in the grossest manner. This behaviour increased the hatred between the two commanders; and the Gauls and Cimbri, being informed by their deputies of the misunderstanding between the generals, embraced this opportunity to give battle. The Gauls attacked Mallius's camp, and the Cimbri fell upon Cæpio's. The slaughter they made was exceeding great. Four-score thousand men, Romans and allies, with the two sons of the consul, and forty thousand servants and sutlers, perished on this fatal day. Of the two Roman armies only ten men escaped with the two generals to carry the news of so dreadful a defeat to Rome. Among these was the famous Sertorius, who, being yet very young, was making his first campaign under Cæpio; as he served in the cavalry, and was well mounted, he saved himself by swimming across the Rhone. The conquerors destroyed all the spoils they took, pursuant to a vow they had made before the battle. The gold and silver they threw into the Rhone, drowned the horses they had taken, and put to death all the prisoners. Thus they revenged, without avarice, the injuries done to Apollo, whose temple the sacrilegious and covetous Romans had plundered ^a.

*The Cimbri
propose a
peace.*

*Cæpio and
Mallius de-
feated by
the Cimbri
and Gauls.*

^a Plut. in Sertorio. Liv. Epit. lib. lxxvii. Diod. Sicul. lib. xxxvi.

*A præto-
rian army
cut in pieces
in Spain.*

The news of this misfortune filled Rome with fear and consternation. At the same time advice came from Spain, that a prætorian army had been destroyed there by the Lusitanians. As both these melancholy accounts arrived on the eve of the nones of October, the senate ordered, that this should for ever be reckoned among the unlucky days. In this general consternation all the shops in the city were shut up; and the citizens, laying aside the toga, put on the military habit. They saw themselves threatened with a new deluge of Cimbri and Gauls, numerous enough to over-run the whole country. Two consular armies, upon which they chiefly depended, were utterly destroyed, and Rome, in so imminent a danger, was left quite defenceless. The people highly incensed against Cæpio, issued a decree, deposing him, and declaring him incapable of any command in the Roman armies for the future. As no Roman general, how faulty soever, had suffered so great a disgrace since the beginning of the republic, the decree of the people did not pass without opposition. The nobility and senate exclaimed against it as a novelty, and a blow which affected the whole body of the patricians; and raised such disturbances in the comitia, that C. Junius Norbanus, tribune of the people, was forced to drive the patricians by force out of the assembly. In the fray which happened on this occasion, M. Æmilius Scaurus, prince of the senate, was wounded on the head with a stone. The nobility being driven out of the assembly with two of the tribunes, L. Cotta and C. Didius, who protested against the law their colleagues had proposed, the sacrilegious Cæpio was deposed^{*} (Q). Upon his

*Cæpio de-
posed.*

^{*} Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 9. Cic. de Orat. lib. ii. in Brut. & pro Balbo.

(Q) Cæpio, according to some authors, was condemned to banishment; according to others, he died in prison. His body, if we believe Valerius Maximus (1), was cut in pieces by the public executioner, and exposed to the view of all the Roman people. He had been honoured with a triumph, with the dignity of pontifex maximus, and the title of protector of the senate. But, notwithstanding his former honours and deserts, he was treated like a common criminal, on account of his having been the chief cause of the defeat of the Romans by the Cimbri and Teutones. Some writers even tell us, that his body was dragged to the Scalæ

(1) Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 9.

his deposition the whole government of the republic for the rest of the year fell to P. Rutilius Rufus, who, being empowered to guard Rome against the misfortunes that threatened her, raised a new army with incredible expedition; no citizen, who was of age to bear arms, being exempted. The consul would not dispense even with the service of his own son, whom, though scarce seventeen, he obliged to serve as a common soldier in one of the legions. Rutilius, on this occasion, first introduced fencing-masters into the Roman camp, whose business it was to teach the young soldiers how to handle their arms, attack the enemy, and defend themselves. By these means the consul, who was a skilful commander, prepared for his successor an invincible army².

In the mean time the Cimbri and Gauls held a council of war, in which some were for passing the Alps, descending into the plains of Insubria, and advancing towards Rome. Others thought it more advisable to reduce first, the new Roman province. But before they came to any resolution, they thought it proper to bring into the council their prisoner, Æmilius Scaurus, and ask his opinion of their descent into Italy. The Roman, with great constancy and intrepidity, told them that they were not to expect from him any advice which could be prejudicial to his country; but that he would give them such as might be useful for themselves. He then advised them to lay aside all thoughts of passing into Italy, where they would meet with the same misfortunes which had formerly befallen Pyrrhus and Hannibal: "Enjoy (said he) the glory fortune has given you in your first battle. You have gained a victory by the disagreement of two bad commanders; but when you come to engage the forces of the republic, under the conduct of an experienced general,

The Cimbri and Gauls ask Æmilius Scaurus's advice.

* Liv. & Val. Max. lib. ii. cap. 3.

Gemoniæ, and there barbarously abused by the incensed multitude. But Cicero says, in express words (2), that Servilius Cæpio, being banished from Rome, retired to Smyrna: whence some writers, in order to reconcile the ancients, have imagined, that he was, by the interest of his family and friends, recalled from banishment; but that the tribunes, having revived the old accusations against him, prevailed on the people to sentence him to death, for having sacrificed the interests of his country to his avarice and ambition.

(1) Cic. in Orat. pro Balbo.

you

He is murdered for speaking freshly.

Marius a second time consul.

His triumph.

Death of Jugurtha.

Marius appointed to command against the Gauls and Cimbri.

you will find them invincible." Scaurus had scarce done speaking, when Boiorix, one of the kings or leaders of the Cimbri, thinking this too insolent a speech from the mouth of a captive, drew his sword and stabbed him.

In the mean time the republic chose two new consuls, and raised to that dignity C. Fulvius Fimbria, and C. Marius a second time. Two laws were urged against the promotion of the latter; one, forbidding the choice of any absent person, the other enacting, that no one should be raised to the consulate a second time till ten years after the first: but the people made the laws give way to the public good. These news were a very agreeable surprize to Marius, who was busy in regulating his conquests in Africa, and thought of nothing less than his new promotion. He left Numidia without delay; and, returning to Rome about the end of December, on the first day of January both entered on his office and triumphed on account of his Numidian conquest. His triumphal chariot was preceded by the riches which he had brought from his province, consisting of three thousand seven hundred pounds weight of gold in ingots, five thousand seven hundred and seventy-five pounds weight of silver in bars, and two hundred eighty-seven thousand drachmæ, or silver denarii, in specie. But nothing struck the spectators so much as the sight of the captive king, who, with his two sons, were led in chains before the conqueror's chariot. After he had been made a shew to the insulting populace, he was used with the utmost insolence by the soldiery after the procession: they tore his ears in a barbarous manner in snatching away his pendants; with which insult the unhappy prince was deeply affected. After he had been abused in the grossest manner by the rabble, he was thrown into a dungeon, in which he soon perished. Livy, Eutropius, and Orosius, tells us, that as soon as the ceremony of the triumph was over, he was carried back to prison, and there strangled. His two sons survived him, and spent their lives in captivity at Venusium¹.

Marius having, by the success that attended him in the war with Jugurtha, gained the esteem and affections of the people, they decreed, that the management of the war beyond the Alps should be likewise committed to his care, and that Sylla should serve under him as lieutenant-general. Fimbria was ordered to continue in Italy, to oppose the barbarians in case they should cross the moun-

¹ Liv. Epit. lib. lxxvii. Front. Strat. lib. iv.

tains. It only remained to divide the two armies between the consuls. Marius had his choice, and he preferred the new legions, which Rutilius had instructed, to the old troops which he had brought from Africa. So many honours conferred on a plebeian occasioned great mortification to the patricians, and encouraged four of the tribunes to make attempts in favour of the people, greatly to the disadvantage of the senate and nobility. Domitius Ahenobarbus, great grandfather of the emperor Nero, Cassius Longinus, Servilius Glaucia, and Marcius Philippus, severally proposed new laws, tending to the diminution of the power of the senate; and the three former succeeded. They first transferred the power of electing the pontifices from their own college to the people: the second obtained a decree, that every citizen, degraded by a plebiscitum, should for ever be deprived of his seat in the senate: the third prevailed on the people to pass a law, by which the allies of Latium, who should accuse a senator, and prove their charge, were to enjoy all the privileges of Roman citizens. The tribune Marcius Philippus attempted to revive the law of Tiberius Gracchus, concerning the distribution of lands; but this was thought a seditious attempt, and therefore not seconded by the generality of the people.

Marius set out for Transalpine Gaul; but finding that the enemy, after the defeat of Cæpio and Mallius, had, instead of passing the Alps, marched into Spain, drawn thither by the hopes of booty, he employed all his attention in establishing the most exact discipline among his soldiers. He taught them frugality by his example, and over-awed them by the severity that appeared in his whole deportment. There was a fierceness in his looks not to be described; the tone of his voice was so rough and harsh, that, whenever he gave orders, he made those who received them tremble. In order to inure them to dangers, he sent most of the young soldiers, under the command of Sylla, to make war upon all the enemies of the republic, who were dispersed from Narbonne to the Pyrenees. Sylla, on this occasion, maintained the reputation he had acquired in Numidia, defeated the Tectosages, and took one of their kings, named Copillus. Notwithstanding these advantages, Marius not thinking the troops he had brought from Italy sufficient to withstand the multitudes of Cimbri, Teutones, and Gauls, who might probably

*Marius
sets out for
Transal-
pine Gaul.*

*Sylla gains
advantages
over the
Gauls.*

= Suet. in Nerone. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 5. Cic. in Verr. act. iii. in Bruto, & in Balbo.

attack

*Occasion of
the Servile
War.*

attack him on their return from Spain, sent for succours to the most remote parts of the East, Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, to whom, among others, his deputies applied, answered, that his dominions were exhausted of men by the numbers of his subjects who had been carried away and kept in slavery by the Roman knights, who farmed the revenues of the republic in the Levant. The senate had regard to this just complaint, and passed a decree, ordering all men of free condition, brought from the country of any ally, to be set at liberty. This decree, however just, gave rise to a new war, of which Marius was the innocent occasion.

*The slaves
rise at
Capua.*

Upon advice of this decree, the unhappy slaves, without waiting for farther orders, broke their chains, and set themselves at liberty. The first commotion was raised at Nuceria, a city of Campania on the banks of the Sarnus; but the tumult was there soon suppressed. A more violent storm was raised at Capua, by a young Roman knight named Vettius. After he had squandered away his fortune in debauchery, he fell violently in love with a beautiful slave, whom he bought upon credit for seven Attic talents: but when the term of payment arrived, having no money, he made an insurrection among the slaves who cultivated the lands of the public in his district, making use of the decree of the senate to seduce them into a revolt. He soon drew together four hundred of them, and his first exploit was to murder those who had pressed him to pay for his mistress. He then led his small company to the neighbouring villages and farms, which he laid under contribution, being every where joined by the slaves whom he set at liberty. When he had assembled about seven hundred, he posted himself in an advantageous situation, was proclaimed king by his followers, who in a short time amounted to three thousand five hundred, and fortified himself in his post, which he made an asylum for all fugitive slaves.*

*They pro-
claim Vet-
tius king.*

The senate dispatched Lucius Lucullus, the prætor, against him, who, taking four thousand six hundred regular troops with him, attacked Vettius; but was repulsed with great loss. The prætor, finding he could not prevail by force, had recourse to artifice, gained over Apollonius, who was general under Vettius, and by his means made himself master of the place, which the rebels had fortified. Vettius, seeing himself betrayed, escaped the

* Diod. in Excerpt. lib. xxxvi.

punishment due to his crime by laying violent hands on himself. This was only a prelude to a more important war in Sicily, at this time governed by a prætor named Licinius Nerva, a weak and timorous man. He at first obeyed the decree of the senate, set at liberty four hundred of those unfortunate men, and ordered all, who had any remonstrances to make concerning their slavery, to repair to him at Syracuse. The number of these poor wretches was much greater than imagined: it was found that the publicans had, under various pretences, reduced many thousand freemen to slavery, especially in the East, and sent them into Sicily to cultivate the lands which they farmed of the public. The prætor, surpris'd at such villainous proceedings, resolv'd to set all those at liberty who were of free condition, pursuant to the decree of the senate. This design alarmed the publicans, who had recourse to the prætor, and by presents prevail'd upon him to suspend the execution of the decree, and to turn his compassion into cruelty. Being corrupted by the Roman knights, he began to look upon this multitude of people, who had been carried away by force from their respective countries, only as a troublesome mob, and sent them back to their respective masters. Instead of returning home they retir'd to a sacred grove, and there took a resolution of recovering by force the liberty of which they had been unjustly deprived.

Vettius betrayed, lays violent hands on himself.

They then seiz'd a castle in the neighbourhood, and laid the adjacent country under contribution. The prætor march'd against them; but being too weak to attack them, he prevail'd on one of their leaders, named Caius Titinius, to deliver up the castle to him, which he enter'd in the night. The slaves, though thus surpris'd, made a vigorous resistance, and perish'd to a man, either by the swords of the Romans, or by throwing themselves down from the top of the walls. Licinius, having suppress'd this first commotion, instead of keeping the field, disbanded his troops; an imprudent step, which gave the slaves an opportunity of rising again. They assembled in a few days to the number of six thousand, and, thinking it dangerous for so great a multitude to continue together without a head, they chose Salvius, a flute-player, for their general, and gave him the title of king. Salvius immediately divided his people into three parties, which he sent out under three leaders to pillage the country, and bring all the slaves they could find to his camp. These expeditions succeeded beyond his expectation; for his parties

An insurrection among the slaves in Sicily;

who choose Salvius for their king.

*They are
defeated by
the prætor,
whom they
defeat in
their turn.*

parties brought him so many men and horses, that he was soon in a condition to form a numerous army, consisting of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. He then laid siege to Morgantia, a strong city on the banks of the Simæthus. While his troops were engaged before that place, the prætor Licinius, with an army of ten thousand men, partly Italians, and partly Sicilians, surprised their camp, which he found almost deserted, and seized the booty which they had brought from the neighbouring farms and villages. From thence the prætor, before day-break, advanced to the besieged city, and attacking the enemy in the dark, slew great numbers of them, and dispersed the rest: but, before sun-rising, the new king, having rallied his troops, returned the surprize upon the Romans, who, thinking themselves victorious, were not upon their guard, attacked them with great vigour, and, having defeated the prætor in his turn, killed six hundred of his soldiers, and took four thousand prisoners ^z.

*The slaves
obliged to
raise the
siege of
Morgantia.*

This victory encouraged Salvius to renew the siege of Morgantia with more vigour than ever. The slaves of the place, upon their masters promising them their liberty if they repulsed the aggressors, performed exploits which could hardly be expected from men of their condition; insomuch that Salvius was obliged to raise the siege. The Morgantines, at the instigation of the base prætor, refused to grant the deliverers of their country the liberty they had promised them; which so incensed these brave men, that they abandoned their masters, whom they had defended with so much gallantry, and went over to the enemy. Thus the evil daily increased, and the contagion spread through all parts of Sicily. A slave named Athenio made an insurrection among his fellows in the neighbourhood of Egesta and Lilybæum; and, having killed his master, put himself at the head of the two hundred slaves he had in his service. His party being soon increased to the number of ten thousand, he had the confidence to lay siege to Lilybæum, at that time the strongest place in the island. After he had spent much time in this fruitless attempt, he pretended to be advised by the gods to abandon the enterprize, crying out, as in a sudden transport, "Let us, my friends, be gone from a place where a melancholy fate is preparing for us. If we persist in this attempt, we shall be undone. Let us then

*An insur-
rection
raised by
Athenio.*

^z Flor. lib. iii. cap. 19. Diodor. Sicul. Eclog. i. lib. xxxvi.

make our advantage of the knowledge that is given me from heaven." While his army was decamping, a fleet arrived from Mauritania, sent by Bocchus to the assistance of the Romans, under the command of Gomon, who, entering the port of Lilybæum, landed his troops, and attacked the rear of Athenio's army. Though the leader of the rebels had, without all doubt, been informed of the approach of this fleet, his soldiers looked upon him as a man favoured by the gods.

Salvius, finding his army amount to thirty thousand effective men, resolved to make Triocala the capital of his new dominions. Accordingly he built a citadel there on the ruins of an old demolished castle, raised a palace, surrounded it with a ditch, and even settled a kind of polity in his city, choosing a council, consisting of his friends, and the most prudent of his subjects. When he had settled all things in his new colony, he invited Athenio to partake of the pleasures of the place, and to deliberate on the proper measures for promoting their common interest. Athenio accepted of the invitation, and came attended with only three thousand of his men: but he no sooner entered Triocala, than Salvius caused him to be seized, and imprisoned in his new castle. Such were the beginnings of this war, which cost the Romans a great deal of blood.

While Marius waited for the return of the Cimbri to Narbonne Gaul, he kept exact discipline in his camp, and punished vice with the utmost severity. From the following instance we may judge of the abhorrence he had for the most infamous of all debaucheries, which licentiousness too often introduced into the Roman armies. His nephew Caius Lucius, having made a scandalous attempt upon a young soldier, named Trebonius, was killed by him. As he was a military tribune, his death made a great noise: but the consul, though much affected with the death of his nephew, not only acquitted Trebonius, whom some vile flatterers warmly accused, but rewarded him for his courage, putting with his own hand one of those crowns on his head which generals only bestowed on soldiers who had signalized themselves by some valiant action. The applauses the army gave Marius on this occasion soon reached Rome, and greatly contributed towards continuing him in the consulate, and

*The equity
of Marius.*

7 Diodor. Sicul. *ibid.*

VOL. XI.

P

in

Yr. of Fl.
2246.
Ante Chr.
102.
U. C. 646.

*Marius a
third time
consul.*

*The Cim-
bri quit
Spain.*

*The Marfi
gained by
Sylla.*

*Marius
chosen the
fourth time
consul.*

in the command of the army in Transalpine Gaul *. Though absent, he was without opposition proclaimed consul a third time : even his most inveterate enemies, Crassus, Metellus, and Marcus Scaurus, approved of his election, sacrificing their private resentments to the public welfare. The colleague the republic gave Marius was L. Aurelius Orestes, who continued some time at Rome, where he was employed in trying T. Albucius, prætor of Sardinia, whom the people condemned to banishment for having decreed himself a triumph in his province, without the consent either of the senate or people, though he had done nothing that deserved it †.

During these transactions at Rome, Marcus Fulvius, the prætor in Spain, gained great reputation by his conduct against the Cimbri. Though he had but one legion under his command, he harassed those Barbarians in such a manner, as obliged them to leave Spain, and return to Gaul : but, before their arrival, a swarm of Marfi appeared there, with a design to join the Teutones, and enter Italy with them (P). Marius detached Sylla to oppose this new inundation of Barbarians ; and he chose rather to make use of persuasion than force : he desired a conference with their leaders, in which he prevailed upon them to change their resolution, and come over to the Romans. Towards the end of the present year, the consul Aurelius Orestes died in his camp at the foot of the Alps on the side of Italy ; so that the republic was obliged to recall Marius to preside at the new elections. He left the command of his army to Manius Aquilius, and returned with joy to Rome, where he acted a part very suitable to his ambition. The point he had in view was to get himself nominated for the next year ; but as this might give offence to the people, it being a thing unheard-of, that the same person should so often be chosen consul successively ; he publicly declared, that he would not even suffer his name to be entered among the candidates. Lucius Apuleius Saturninus, one of the tribunes,

* Plut. in Mario. Cic. pro Mil. n. 18.
102. Cic. de Provinc. Consular.

† Jul. Obseq. cap.

(P) The Marfi were natives of Germany, and inhabited the banks of the Luppia, or, as Strabo calls it, the Luppias. This river rises at Lipfprink, a village of Westphalia, and falls into the Rhine, after having watered the duchy of Cleves.

and

and his creature, being in the secret with him, acted a very different part: he in all his harangues exhorted the people to force Marius to accept of the consulship. The more pressing the people were with him, the more determined he pretended to be not to comply with their request. The tribune, in one of his speeches, even called him traitor for resisting the will of the people, and refusing to serve his country when threatened with great danger. The game was so artfully played, that the people nominated Marius consul the fourth time, and forced him, much against his will, as they imagined, to accept of the dignity. The nobility, indeed, laughed at his affected modesty, and saw through the disguise; but thought his assistance necessary at a time when the state was in the utmost danger, and therefore did not oppose his election. The colleague given him was Q. Lutatius Catulus, a man greatly esteemed both by the senate and people ^b.

All Gaul was in motion, and the season for action approaching, the consuls hastened to their posts. They set out from Rome at the same time, leaving the city in consternation, on account of the new troubles both abroad and at home. Abroad, the Thracians had raised great disturbances in Macedon. The rebellious slaves laid Sicily waste, and reduced Rome to great straits for want of corn; the Sicilian pirates infested the Mediterranean, and contributed as much to the famine which afflicted Rome as the devastations in Sicily. Against the pirates was sent a man, who seemed most nearly concerned to destroy them; namely, the famous orator M. Antonius, whose daughter they had carried into captivity. He soon cleared the seas of those robbers, and on that account was honoured with a triumph ^c. At home, new disturbances were raised by Lucius Apuleius Saturninus, who endeavoured to promote one Lucius Equitius Firmianus to the tribunate. He was a freed-man, and his parents, nay, even his tribe, were utterly unknown; but Apuleius knew him to be a bold, active, and intriguing man, an inveterate enemy to the nobility, and therefore a proper tool to be employed against the patricians. As the seditious tribune was apprised, that the birth of Equitius would be the greatest obstacle to his advancement, he made him take the name of Gracchus, and presented him to the people as the son of C. Tiberius Gracchus. Q.

The Cilician pirates destroyed by M. Antonius.

Disturbances raised by Apuleius.

^b Plut. in Mario. Cic. in Bruto, & pro Sextio. ^c Vell. Patercul. lib. iii. Flor. lib. iii. Liv. Epit. lib. lviii. Tacit. Annal. xii. Cic. de Orat. lib. i.

Cæcilius Metellus, surnamed Numidicus, being at this time one of the censors, discovered the cheat, and refused even to inroll Equitius among the Roman citizens: his refusal had like to have cost him dear; for he very narrowly escaped being stoned by the populace, at the instigation of Apuleius.

The Cimbrians begin their march into Italy.

Marius was waiting for the Cimbri in Transalpine Gaul; but they appeared there no more, having, in a great council of war, resolved to enter Italy by two different ways, the Cimbri over the eastern, and the Teutones, Ambrones, and other Gaulish and Helvetian nations, over the western Alps. Marius therefore marched to oppose the latter, and posted himself near the place where the present city of Arles stands. As the mouth of the Rhone was choaked up with heaps of sand and mud, which the waves continually lodged there, Marius, to supply his army with provisions brought up the river, undertook a great and laborious work, which, from him, was called Fossa Mariana. He dug a large canal, into which he turned the waters of the Rhone, and thereby opened a new communication between his camp and the sea. Through this canal the transports could pass, by which he supplied his army with plenty of provisions; and, being encamped between the two arms of the river and the sea, had no reason to fear the attacks of the enemy.

Fossa Mariana.

The Barbarians insult the Romans in their camp.

Marius had scarce finished his works, when the Barbarians appeared, covering a great tract of land. They advanced to his trenches; but, finding they could not force them, challenged the Romans to fight. Marius was not in haste to venture a battle, there being something fierce in the looks of those Barbarians, which struck the Romans with terror. The consul, therefore, that their countenances, outcries, and the clatter of their arms, might become the less terrible, by being familiar to his troops, ordered them to mount the ramparts as often as the Barbarians appeared. He likewise sent out detachments, under the conduct of brave and experienced officers, to lay waste the country, and by these means distress the Barbarians for want of provisions. The more the scarcity increased, the more earnest they were to come to a decisive battle, insulting the Romans in their camp; but their insults only affected the common soldiers, whose ardour Marius restrained, telling them, that all rashness was to be laid aside, and no hazards to be run upon any account. This caution served only to make the legionaries more impatient to come to a battle with the Barbarians,

Marius restrains the ardour of his soldiers.

Barbarians,

rians, whom they now began to despise, observing to one another, that shouts and outcries do no execution; that ghastly looks can only frighten cowards; and that well-disciplined troops will always have the advantage over a disorderly and ill-conducted multitude. These sentiments gave the consul great pleasure; but being still resolved to hazard nothing, when all other means failed him, he had recourse to superstition, to ensure the obedience of his soldiers. His wife Julia, who was of the family of the Cæsars, had sent him a woman from Rome, by name Martha, whose skill in predictions she had experienced. The consul received and treated her with the most profound respect, as if she had been entrusted with the secrets of fate: in reality, she was rather an interpreter of the will of Marius, than of the gods; he informed her of his designs; and the pretended prophets never failed to approve of the measures which the consul had before resolved on. Having consulted her, whether he should humour his soldiers, and engage the enemy, Martha answered, that, in the present circumstances, an engagement would prove fatal to the republic. This answer quieted the troops, and kept them in an entire subjection to their general. As the Teutones were continually hovering about the camp, and insulting the Romans, one of them, a man of a gigantic size, advancing to the foot of the rampart, challenged the consul himself to a single combat. Marius, without regarding his bravadoes, answered, "If the German is in haste to die, let him go and hang himself."

At length the Tutones, tired with Marius's delays, resolved to attack the Roman camp; but, not succeeding in the attempt, they encamped with a design to force a passage over the Alps some other way. We are told, that they were six days, without intermission, passing by the Roman camp. In their march, they cried out to the Romans upon the ramparts, "If you have any messages to your wives, we will soon deliver them at Rome." Marius, being forced to decamp likewise, followed the Barbarians into the inner parts of the Roman province, and came up with them near Aquæ Sextiæ, now Aix. There the consul thought it advisable to fortify a camp, that, at all events, he might be sure of a retreat. While his troops were employed in this work, the servants of the army, who were gone to fetch water from the Cenus, now the Arque, were attacked by a body of Teutones, who guarded that river. As the servants made a great

*The Teu-
tones de-
camp.*

A battle between the Romans and Ambrones.

outcry, some of the legionaries ran to their assistance : hereupon the whole army of the enemy took arms, a circumstance which obliged Marius to draw up his troops in battalia. The legions halted at some distance from the river, while the Ligurians advanced to begin the action. The Ambrones, to the number of thirty thousand, faced the Ligurians in good order, and briskly marched up against them, beating time on their bucklers, and crying out Ambrones ! Ambrones ! probably to encourage each other, or to intimidate the Romans, by a name which the defeat of Cæpio and Mallius had made formidable ; for to the Ambrones was owing the overthrow of those two generals.

The Ambrones defeated.

The Ligurians were routed at the first onset. When the legions came to engage, the face of affairs was changed ; the undisciplined multitude of Barbarians, not being able to stand the shock of regular troops, were repulsed in their turn, and driven to the banks of the river, where the Romans made a dreadful slaughter of them. The river was stained with their blood, and only a small number of them reached the opposite bank, whence they fled, closely pursued by the victorious legions, to a kind of fortification, which they had made with their carts. Their wives, who had staid in this place during the engagement, seeing their husbands flying, and the Romans pursuing, armed themselves with axes, and, gnashing their teeth, fell, with great shrieks, on the pursued and pursuers without distinction. Without any regard to their own defence, they threw themselves upon the combatants, seized their swords, and endeavoured to snatch away their bucklers : but when their rage was exhausted, they desired to capitulate upon this single condition, that their honour should be preserved. When this condition was denied, those unfortunate women, being reduced to despair, first killed their children, and then themselves, not one remaining alive of so great a multitude ^d.

Marius engages the Teutones.

This victory was far from being complete. The Ambrones indeed were defeated ; but the Teutones, who were encamped at some distance from the river, still remained. They did not move all that night, nor the next day ; so that the Romans had time to fortify themselves on the eminence which their general had first chosen. The third day after the battle, Tutobocchus, or, as others call him,

^d Plut. in Marlo. Front. Strat. lib. iv. cap. 7. & lib. v. cap. 11. Val. Max. lib. iv. cap. 1. Orof. lib. v. cap. 15.

Teutobodus, general of the Teutonic army, drew up his troops in the plain; while Marius, having formed his infantry on the declivity of the hill, ordered his cavalry to go down, and attack the Barbarians, then, by a feigned flight, drew them towards the eminence. The stratagem succeeded. The Teutones, impatient to come to an engagement, advanced to the foot of the hill, and, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, attacked the Romans with great intrepidity. They stood the showers of darts which were discharged upon them, and, though forced to climb, closed with the legionaries, and fell upon them sword in hand. The Romans, who were posted on the declivity of the hill, pushed them down with their bucklers only: besides, the sun shone full in their faces; but notwithstanding these disadvantages, the victory was doubtful till noon. The night before the battle, Marius had detached Claudius Marcellus with a body of infantry, and given him, instead of cavalry, the servants of the army, mounted without saddles, on the beasts of burden. They were ordered to lie in ambush in the hollow ways behind the enemy's camp, and to fall upon them in the heat of the action. Though the detachment was small, yet the great number of servants, gave it the appearance of a large army. The Teutones, who had hitherto behaved with great intrepidity, no sooner saw this detachment advancing to attack them in the rear, than their courage and strength failing them at once, they fled with precipitation. The Romans made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives, took their camp, and plundered it (R).

The Teutones defeated with great slaughter.

With the news of this victory Marius dispatched a messenger to Rome, where the people were so transported with joy, that, in gratitude, they advanced him to the consulate the fifth time. While the populace at Rome were heaping honours on their deliverer, the soldiers in the camp offered him all the booty; but he generously reserved only what might grace his triumph, and dedicated the

Yr. of Fl.
2247.
Ante Chr.
101.
U. C. 647.

Marius consul the fifth time.

• Vell. Patercul. Oros. Eutrop. Liv. ibid. Flor. lib. iii. Auct. de Vir. Illustr. Plut. in Mario.

(R) Teutobocchus was, according to some, made prisoner; according to others, killed in the battle. As to the numbers of the slain, and the prisoners, in the two battles, they amounted, according to some writers, to two hundred and ninety thousand; according to the lowest calculations, an hundred thousand were killed upon the spot.

rest to the gods. All the combustibles were gathered together in one pile, to which the consul himself, with great solemnity, set fire (S). In the mean time messengers arrived from Rome with the congratulations of the people, and the news of his fifth election, presenting him, at the same time with a decree of the senate, which gave him leave to triumph. Marius accepted these new honours with gratitude; and, without betraying any extraordinary joy, "I accept the consulate (said he) as a new obligation upon me to conquer the Cimbri, as I have defeated the Teutones. As for a triumph, I desire it may not be mentioned till I have made my victory complete. The pomp of a triumph will be very unseasonable, so long as there shall remain any Barbarians in the neighbourhood of Italy." The colleague given Marius was Manius Aquilius, of whom hereafter. As for Catulus, he was continued in the command of the army, with the title of proconsul. This year was begun with acts of religion, which the people thought the more necessary, because two crimes were now committed, which had never been heard of since the foundation of the city.

An unnatural son, by name Publicius Malleolus, killed his mother; a crime for which the Roman legislators had appointed no punishment, not presuming it possible for a man to be guilty of so enormous a villainy. A new punishment was therefore allotted for this new crime. The parricide was sewn up in a leathern sack, and, with a thousand execrations, thrown into the Tiber. The other crime was that of mutilation. A slave mutilated himself in imitation of the priests of Cybele: the senate, apprehensive of the consequences of so dangerous a delusion, banished the eunuch for ever from Rome.

*The Cimbri
enter Italy,*

In the mean time Catulus, being unable to withstand the numberless multitudes of the Cimbri, by the advice of Sylla, who served under him in quality of his lieutenant-general, retired before the Barbarians, and pitched two camps on the opposite banks of the Athesis, now the Adige. The Cimbri advancing to the Athesis, with a design to attack the Romans, attempted to ford that river;

† Plut. *ibid.* Diodor. *apud* Valef.
Diodor. *Sicul. esl. lib. xxxvi.*

‡ Jul. *Obseq. cap. 100.*

(S) A triumphal arch was erected in honour of this victory, and is still to be seen, almost entire, in the very neighbourhood of Orange, where the battle was fought, about twelve or fourteen miles from Avignon,

but finding it too deep, they pulled up great trees by the roots, and threw huge stones into it, hoping by that means to make it passable. The terrible appearance of those multitudes of Barbarians struck the Romans with such a panic, that it was not in the power of Catulus to hinder those in his larger camp from flying shamefully before the enemy. Some of the Roman knights rode full speed to Rome, leaving their general and fellow-soldiers to the mercy of the enemy. Among these was the son of Scaurus, prince of the senate; but as soon as his father was informed of his cowardly desertion, he sent him orders never to appear in his presence. In consequence of this command the young Roman, who had been afraid of dying honourably in the field of battle, fell by his own hand. Those in the little camp made a vigorous resistance. One of the Cimbri having challenged to a single combat, the bravest man among them, was easily overcome by L. Opimius. This example was not sufficient to encourage all the officers. There was in the camp but one legion, commanded by six tribunes, of whom five were for attempting to break through the enemy; but the sixth, not so resolute as the rest, opposed so dangerous an attempt. A centurion, named Petreius, stabbed the cowardly officer, and being chosen commander by the legion, obtained an honourable capitulation, led his small body to a place of safety, and from thence marched to join the main body of the army, encamped on the banks of the Po^a. Had the Cimbri known how to improve their victory, they might have made themselves masters of Rome, which was then quite defenceless, and in the utmost consternation. But they delayed their march in expectation of being joined by the Teutones; and this respite gave the Romans time to recall Marius and his troops from Gaul. By order of the senate he joined his troops to the proconsul's army on the Po; and, upon their union, was declared commander in chief, his consulate and reputation giving him a superiority over Catulus. He received here a sensible mortification from his old lieutenant Sylla: that brave officer had found means to supply the camp of Catulus with great plenty of provisions, while Marius's troops wanted even necessaries. Sylla therefore went to the consul's camp, and maliciously offered to relieve his troops in their distress, with the overplus of the provisions which he had amassed in the proconsul's camp. Necessity

*and strike
the Romans
with a
panic.*

*Marius
sent against
the Cimbri.*

^a Plat. in Sylla.

obliged Marius to accept the offer; but never was present received with more reluctance¹. From this time Sylla entered into an open competition with Marius, notwithstanding the superiority which five consulates gave him over a man who had not yet been raised to any of the great employments of the republic.

*The Cimbri
provoked
by Marius:*

The Cimbri, finding the Teutones did not appear, resolved to come to action without them. That they might act with some appearance of justice, they first sent a deputation to the Roman general, desiring him to assign them, and their allies the Teutones, lands in the country where they were; threatening, in case of refusal, to make the Romans feel the weight of their arms. Marius answered sternly, "You ask lands for your allies the Teutones; I have given them some already. Their carcases are rotting in the fields by the Cenus, and their bones made use of for fences to the vineyards." The deputies, exasperated at this severe jest, threatened to make him repent of his insults, as soon as the Teutones should pass the Alps. "You need not then delay a moment (answered Marius); they have already passed the Alps, and you shall immediately see them." Then shewing them the chiefs of the Teutonic army in chains, "Pray salute your allies (said he to the deputies with a sneer), and make yourselves ready to join them." These insults provoked the Cimbri to such a degree, that Boiorix, one of their kings, came to Marius's camp, and challenged him to fix the day and place of battle. Marius pitched upon the plain of Vercellæ, which was not large enough to contain half the enemy's forces; and named the eve of the calends of August, the third day from that time. Both generals kept their agreement. The army of Catulus amounted to twenty thousand three hundred, and that of Marius to thirty-two thousand. The enemy's cavalry were no more than fifteen thousand; but their infantry seemed innumerable; for we are told that they covered, when drawn up in a square, thirty furlongs.

*An engage-
ment be-
tween the
Romans
and the
Cimbri.*

Marius, as commander in chief, formed the whole army. In order to deprive the proconsul of any share of the glory, he posted his troops in the centre, and his own in the two wings, which projected before the main body, and consequently was destined to sustain the efforts of the enemy's army. But his measures were disconcerted by an unforeseen accident: before the action began, the cavalry

¹ Plut. in Sylla.

of the Cimbri made a motion, as if they intended to wheel about, and flank the Roman army. Marius, at the head of the two wings, advanced against them. The Cimbrian horse, at his approach, retired, and drew the consul after them. When he was at some distance from the main body, the enemy's infantry charged the legions, commanded by Catulus and Sylla, with incredible fury. The Romans, animated by the example of their leaders, stood the shock, without giving ground, keeping themselves upon the defensive, till the enemy's first fury was spent. Then the legionaries charged them in their turn. As the sun shone with great violence, those people, not accustomed to the heats of Italy, were soon covered with sweat, and scarce able to lift up their arms; so that they made a faint resistance. They were soon overcome; but they had put it out of their own power to save themselves from the victorious enemy by flight. That they might keep their ranks the better, they had tied themselves to one another with cords fastened to their belts; so that the Romans made what havock they pleased of those helpless barbarians.

Marius, returning with his troops from the pursuit of their cavalry, fell upon them, when quite exhausted with fatigue, and the heat of the day. All that followed was a dreadful butchery, the whole plain being covered with dead bodies. From the field of battle, the Romans marched to the enemy's camp, where they had a new battle to fight with their wives, who were even more fierce than their husbands. From their carts and waggons, which formed a kind of fortification, they discharged showers of darts on their friends and enemies, without distinction. Then they first strangled their children in their arms, and afterwards killed themselves. The greatest part hanged themselves on trees; one was found hanging from a cart, with two of her children at her heels. Many of the men, for want of trees and stakes, tied strings in running knots about their necks, and fastened them to the tails of their horses, and the horns and feet of their oxen, to strangle themselves. Thus those unhappy creatures put an end to their lives by all the methods they could contrive. Two of their kings or leaders stabbed each other. Boiorix and Luig, their chief commanders, died in the action sword in hand. Clodic and Sesorix, two of their generals, were made prisoners, with sixty thousand of their men, who were all put in chains, and sold to the best bidder: an hundred and twenty thousand

*The Cimbri
defeated by
Marius and
Catulus.*

*This beha-
viour, and
tragic
end of their
women.*

of

of the Barbarians were left dead upon the spot; whereas the Romans had scarce three hundred men missing in both armies. Thus was the whole nation almost extirpated, whose incursions and robberies were looked upon as a public scourge ^k.

The victory chiefly owing to Catulus;

All the spoils and ensigns were brought to the camp of Catulus, a plain proof that the victory was chiefly owing to his troops. But a dispute arising between the soldiers of the two camps, the generals agreed to refer the dispute to the arbitration of the ambassadors of Parma, who happened at that time to be in the array. These being led to the field of battle, found almost all the darts, with which the Barbarians had been killed, marked with the name of Catulus, who had taken care to imprint it on the arms of his soldiers before the battle. Besides, Marius's men had taken from the enemy only two standards; whereas Sylla brought to the proconsul's camp thirty-one, with the brazen bull which the Cimbri worshipped. The arbitrators gave sentence in favour of Catulus; so that Sylla saw, with pleasure, the greatest part of the glory of the action taken from Marius, who had endeavoured to engross it all to himself. However, when the news of this signal victory were brought to Rome, the people gave all the honour of it to Marius, calling him the third founder of Rome, the deliverer of his country; they even invoked him as a god; and neither time, nor the most circumstantial accounts, could undeceive them, so as to bring them to allow any share of the success to Catulus. Marius had not the confidence to deprive Catulus of the glory which was due to him: he was afraid that the army of Catulus would oppose his triumph, if he pretended to exclude their general; they were therefore both honoured with a triumph. The spoils taken from the enemy were carried before the triumphant victors; but if we give credit to Florus ^l, no part of the shew struck the people so much, as the sight of king Teutobocchus, who was, according to that writer, of such a gigantic stature, that his head appeared above the trophies which were carried in procession.

But ascribed at Rome to Marius alone.

Thus was Italy delivered from her fears, by the defeat of the Teutones and the Cimbri. The only enemy the Romans had now to contend with, were the rebellious slaves in Sicily. The republic had sent against them, two

^k Plut. in Mar. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 3. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 1.
^l Flor. lib. iii. cap. 3.

years before the defeat of the Cimbri, the prætor Lucius Licinius Lucullus, with an army of fourteen thousand men, exclusive of the succours that were sent him from Greece and Lucania. When the Roman army landed, Salvius, who had shut up Athenio in the citadel of Triocala, delivered him from his confinement, and advised with him, as he was a man of experience, about the means of resisting the new general. In a council of war, it was agreed, that Salvius should continue in the city of Triocala to defend it, if attacked, and that Athenio should, at the head of forty thousand men, march against Lucullus, and give him battle. Accordingly Athenio advanced with his army into the neighbourhood of Scieræum, and there came to an engagement with the prætor, in which the victory was warmly disputed. The slaves, who, for the most part, had served in war before they were reduced to slavery, fought with a regularity and courage which the Romans did not expect; insomuch that the success would have been doubtful, if Athenio, advancing into the middle of the enemy's battalions, at the head of three hundred horse, had not been wounded in both his knees. He fell from his horse through faintness, and was covered with an heap of dead bodies. In consequence of his disaster, his troops, having no commander of reputation to head them, dispersed, and fled in the utmost confusion. The Romans pursued the fugitives, and killed above twenty thousand of them.

War with the slaves.

Licinius defeats the slaves in Sicily.

The news of this defeat no sooner reached Triocala, than the cowardly Salvius abandoned the place; but in the mean time Athenio, having crept from under the dead bodies that covered him, reached Triocala, with the remains of his army, before the prætor, who spent nine days in useless precautions, invested the place. Athenio sustained the siege with intrepidity, and forced Lucullus to raise the siege, and retire from before the place, amidst the hisses of the slaves, who insulted him and his army from their walls, as they filed off. He withdrew to Syracuse, and there spent the remainder of the year, intent on enriching himself, at the expence of his province. His year therefore was no sooner expired, than he was recalled, and being accused before the people of oppression, was condemned to banishment^a. The prætor C. Servilius was sent to succeed him; but that weak general was even more unfortunate than his predecessor. Athenio,

but is forced to raise the siege of Triocala.

^a Diodor. Sicul. Eclog. 1. lib xxxvi.

who

*Servilius
defeated by
the slaves.*

who now carried on the rebellion alone, Salvius being dead, attacked and defeated the Roman army, and made himself master of their camp. After this victory, Athenio advanced to Messina; and, having made a fruitless attempt upon that city, besieged Macella, which he reduced.

*Aquilius
defeats the
slaves, and
ends the
war.*

The progress of the rebellion opened the eyes of the senate, who sent Manius Aquilius, the colleague of Marius for the present year, to suppress it. Aquilius repaired to Sicily with a consular army, and having made it his whole business, in his consulship, to reduce the rebels to straits for want of provisions, in the year of his proconsulate he entirely destroyed them. He took the field, and brought the enemy to a battle, which both parties maintained with equal vigour, till the two generals met, and determined the victory by a single combat. Aquilius not disdaining to enter the lists with Athenio, a stop was put to the battle, the Romans on the one side, and the slaves on the other, making way for the two champions. The proconsul, who was a man of great strength and resolution, laid his adversary dead on the ground at one blow. The Romans, taking advantage of his victory, and the enemy's fears, made such a slaughter of the disheartened rebels, that, of their army, not more than ten thousand escaped to their camp, where they chose rather to kill one another than surrender. When they were reduced to a thousand, Satyrus capitulated with the proconsul, who promised him and his companions their lives, but afterwards sent them to Rome, to fight the wild beasts in the shews of the circus. They chose rather to fall by each other's hands. Thus ended a rebellion, which had lasted four years, and cost the republic, according to some writers, near a million of slaves. Aquilius, on his return, was honoured with an ovation, the republic having more regard to her ancient custom, of not granting a triumph to the conquerors of rebels, especially if they were slaves, than to the merit and services of the victorⁿ.

*They kill
one another.*

*Is honoured
with an o-
vation.*

The republic, after the defeat of the Cimbri, and the reduction of the slaves, had scarce any enemies left abroad; but nourished such in her own bosom as proved more mischievous to her, than either the Barbarians of Germany, or the slaves of Sicily. Marius, whose ambition knew no bounds, stood now for the sixth consulship.

ⁿ Diodor. Sicul. lib. xxxviii. Eclog. 1. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 19. Cic. de Orat. Liv. in Epit.

Though

Though naturally fierce, he became mild and affable, caressed the meanest of the people, and ingratiated himself with them by servile condescensions. His competitor was Metellus, surnamed Numidicus, whose virtues and experience, joined to the wishes of all honest men, loudly called him to the government of the republic: but Marius, by distributing privately large sums among the people, succeeded; and one Lucius Valerius Flaccus, a very weak man, was appointed for his colleague. The first step Marius took after his election, was to contract an intimate friendship with L. Apuleius Saturninus and Servilius Glaucia, two daring factious men, who had all the indigent and seditious people at their beck. Apuleius had been long devoted to the consul, and had procured him his fourth consulate. Glaucia was the prætor, to whom the cognizance of civil causes belonged, naturally factious and violent. These three entered into an association, with a design to ingross all the power to themselves. Apuleius had been once before tribune of the people, and now stood for that post a second time: but he had the misfortune to come in competition with A. Nonnius, a man of an unblemished character, and highly esteemed by the people. Though Marius used all his interest for his friend Apuleius, his intrigues and solicitations were ineffectual; all the voices were for Nonnius, who was accordingly declared tribune. Apuleius, giving himself up to the dictates of his fury, caused Nonnius to be stabbed at the breaking up of the assembly, and then got himself proclaimed tribune by those of his own party, before any considerable part of the people were assembled to give their suffrages. The consul confirmed the election; and the murder of Nonnius was no more mentioned.

Marius, Apuleius, and Glaucia, formed a kind of triumvirate, whose whole aim was to humble the senate, and assume all power to themselves. About this time, ambassadors arrived at Rome from Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus, sent by their master to adjust some small differences between him and the republic. These Apuleius, at the instigation of Marius, used in a most brutal manner. The consul, in all likelihood, weary of an inactive life, hoped, by these insults, to provoke Mithridates to begin a war. The ambassadors laid their complaints before the senate; and the fathers, glad of an opportunity of humbling the insolent tribune, cited him before their tribunal: but, on the day when sentence was to be pronounced, the populace surrounded the hall where the senate met, in such

The mean practices of Marius.

His sixth consulship.

Yr. of Fl.

2249.

Ante Chr.

99.

U. C. 649.

*Apuleius
revives the
quarrel
about the
distribution
of lands.*

such crouds, that they intimidated the judges; so that the factious tribune was acquitted by a majority of votes °.

After this victory over the senate, Apuleius, a tribune of the people, renewed the ancient quarrel about the division of the lands. Marius and Catulus had, by the defeat of the Cimbri, recovered some lands in Cisalpine Gaul, of which those barbarians had taken possession. Apuleius was for taking these lands from the owners, and giving them to Marius's soldiers, who were for the most part people without property, and entirely devoted to their general. In the law which he had prepared together with Marius, whose tool he was, for the distribution of the lands, there was a clause expressly providing, "That the senate should swear in full assembly to confirm whatever should be enacted by the people, and not to oppose them in any thing; and that whoever refused to take that oath, should be degraded, and condemned in a fine of twenty talents." Nothing could be more unreasonable than such a law, since it subjected the senate to the people. On the day therefore of the comitia, when it was to be admitted or rejected, many men of great weight and authority mounted the rostra to dissuade the people from passing it; but they were pulled down by the mob of the country tribes, whom Marius and Apuleius had brought in great crouds to the city. These violent proceedings provoked the city tribes, who, finding themselves the weakest, that the assembly might be dissolved, cried out, "That they heard it thunder;" a circumstance which, according to the laws, obliged them to suspend for that day all deliberations. The country tribes, having among them many veterans, most of them men of spirit, disregarding that superstitious custom, attacked the city tribes, and having driven them with stones and clubs out of the forum, the law was passed °.

*Marius's
treachery.*

Next day Marius, as consul, made a report to the senate of the law in question, exclaimed against the late violences, and declared that he was determined never to take so unreasonable an oath, and that he did not doubt but every honest man would be of his opinion; for if the law was good in itself, there was no necessity for swearing; and if it was bad, they were obliged in honour not to swear. This remark he made to ensnare Metellus, whom he hated ever since their quarrel in Numidia. He hoped, that his declaring against the oath would draw a

° Diodor. Sicul. apud Ful. Ursin.

° Auct. de Vir. Illustr.

like declaration from that great man ; and did not doubt, but when he had once made such a public declaration, he would stand firm to his resolution, which would infallibly expose him to the hatred of the people. The event answered his expectation ; Metellus protested, that he would not take the oath, and the whole senate followed his example. A few days after Apuleius summoned the senate to appear at the comitia, in order to take the oath ; and then Marius made his appearance among the rest. While the eyes of all the senators were fixed upon him, he, to their great surprize declared, that he had changed his sentiments : “ I am not so obstinate (said he), as to be tied down by any declaration I may have made upon an affair of so much weight, before I had thoroughly considered ; but am ready to swear, and will punctually observe it, when it becomes a law.” These last words he added, to give a colour to his shameful breach of faith. The senators, upon this declaration of Marius, which was applauded by all the country tribes, were afraid to deliver their sentiments. Marius took their silence for a tacit consent, and immediately went to the temple of Saturn, according to the ancient custom, and there took the oath, even without the restriction he had proposed. The senators, over-awed by the people, followed his example ; but Metellus resolutely persisted in his former opinion, notwithstanding the representations of his friends, who earnestly entreated him to yield to the times. He told those who pressed him to take the oath, that to do a base and unworthy action was under all circumstances shameful ; that to act upright, when no danger attended it, was common ; but to persevere in the midst of dangers, was the property of an honest man. Upon his refusal, the assembly, at the instigation of Marius and Apuleius, condemned him to banishment. The nobility, the whole body of the patricians, and the city tribes, offered to oppose this most unjust decree of the populace. Many, out of affection for so good and virtuous a citizen, had brought arms under their robes, determined to defend him to the last extremity ; but that wise senator, who loved his country, after having, in a tender manner, returned them thanks for their kindness, declared, that he would not suffer a single drop of blood to be spilt on his account. He then went into banishment, which in so glorious a cause did him more honour than all his victories or triumphs. He left the city with this wise reflection, “ Either the face of affairs will change, and the people re-

Metellus alone refuses to take an oath proposed by the tribunes ; and is banished.

pent of what they have done; in which case I shall be recalled, and restored with honour: or they will remain in the present posture; and then it will be best for me to be at a distance from Rome." The illustrious exile went to reside, some say at Rhodes, others at Smyrna, where, in a sweet tranquillity, he gave himself entirely up to the study of philosophy, enjoying in his retreat those pleasures which flow from a good conscience¹.

Disturbances raised by Apuleius.

Marius's conduct.

Marius, Apuleius, and Glaucia, congratulated each other on their having ruined their common enemy. The point Apuleius had in view, was to be continued in the tribuneship, Glaucia aspired at the consulate, and Marius was for maintaining himself another year. Apuleius committed the most flagrant acts of violence and injustice. Marius, who was the soul of the triumvirate, left to the other two the execution of the wicked schemes which he advised: he pretended to keep the balance even between the people and the senate; on one side he raised disturbances, by means of his two confederates, in order to make himself necessary, and to pave the way for his seventh consulship; on the other hand, he pretended a desire to compose them, hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with the senate. By this artful conduct he would have gained his point, had not his deceit been discovered by accident. One evening some senators came to wait on the consul, and to implore his assistance against the attempts of the seditious tribune: Marius, willing to be on good terms with the nobility, received them very graciously, and promised to exert his power against Apuleius. While he was conferring with the senators on the proper measures for preserving the republic, Apuleius came to receive his directions for raising new disturbances; and, being let in at a back-door unknown to the senators, was carried into another apartment; then Marius, pretending to be ill, was continually running from one apartment to the other, exasperating the senators against the tribune, and the tribune against the senators. This artifice being soon after known, he was suspected by both parties. Apuleius and Glaucia began to take umbrage at his complaisance for the patricians, and the patricians grew jealous of his intimacy with those two incendiaries².

In the mean time Apuleius and Glaucia canvassed, independent of the consul, the former for a third tribuneship, and the latter for the consulate. Apuleius proposed

¹ Plut. in Mario. Cic. pro Sextio & Balbo. Appian. de Bell. Civil. Auct. de Vir. Illust.

² Plut. in Mario.

the contemptible Equitius for tribune of the people, and without any regard to decency, carried matters so far, that Marius thought it advisable to send Equitius to prison, ordering him to be kept there till the election of the tribunes was over. Apuleius, having persuaded the people to break open the prison, set Equitius at liberty, and prevailed upon them to proclaim him tribune of the people; but the pretended tribune died before he entered upon his office. Glaucia, who stood for the consulate, carried his furious attempts to such excess, that he was become insupportable. When the comitia for the election of consuls came on, Marius was excluded, and the orator Marcus Antonius chosen in the first place: Glaucia expected to be nominated in the second; but finding he had a formidable competitor in Memmius, who was superior to him in all respects, and highly esteemed on account of his probity, he made no scruple to send one of his attendants to murder him in the forum.

Proceedings of Apuleius and Glaucia.

After a murder so public and daring, Glaucia, and Apuleius his accomplice, to avoid the punishment they deserved, openly attempted to destroy the republic itself. They carried a multitude of desperate men to the house of Apuleius, who there exhorted them to open rebellion. We are told, that they appointed him to be their general, and offered him the title of king, which he is said to have accepted. Be that as it may, it was now an open conspiracy; the senate declared them enemies to their country, and passed one of those decrees, which were never made but in times of the utmost difficulty and danger; the two consuls Marius and Flaccus were ordered to provide for the public welfare in what manner they judged proper. Thus Marius found himself obliged to arm, in order to suppress a sedition, which he secretly favoured, but could protect no longer. No time was to be lost: Glaucia and Apuleius had already seized the Capitol. Arms therefore were given to all those who declared for the senate; the knights, the senators, and all who had the welfare of their country at heart, armed themselves against the rebels; but Marius affected delays, and plainly shewed, it was much against his inclination that he obeyed the orders of the senate. In the mean time the whole rabble of the country tribes entered the city with a design to join their friends in the Capitol, but were obliged to fight a battle in the forum before they could reach the citadel. When they were hard pressed, Apuleius made a sally, and covered their retreat to the Capitol. During the action,

Memmius murdered.

Apuleius and Glaucia rebel; and declared enemies to their country.

They seize the Capitol.

A battle in the forum.

the seditious tribune hoisted up a cap on the top of a lance, to invite the slaves, by this promise of setting them free, to take up arms in his favour. In the mean time the senators and knights, tired with the delays of Marius, caused the pipes to be cut, which conveyed water into the capitol; an expedient which soon reduced the rioters to a desperate condition.

*The rebels
forced to
surrender
to Marius :*

In this extremity Suffeius, one of their leaders, was for setting fire to the temple of Jupiter, in hopes they should make their escape during the confusion and tumult which commonly attend such accidents; but Apuleius and Glau-
cia, depending upon their friendship with Marius, surrendered to him, after he had promised, upon the public faith, to save their lives. Though this promise was unlawful, since the senate had already declared them rebels, and ordered the consul to treat them as such, Marius was resolved to save a body of desperate men, whose fury might be of use to him on some other occasion. He therefore gave them leave to march out of the Capitol unmolested. Glau-
cia retired to the house of Claudius for refuge; but the people soon dragged him from thence, and cut off his head. His brother Dolabella, and L. Gegan-
nius, who retired to the herb-market, were killed there. Marius shut up the rest, with Apuleius their chief, in the old palace of Tullus Hostilius, giving out, that he confined them there in order to bring them to condign punishment. The palace was in reality a place of safety for them rather than a prison; and the guards, placed at the gates, were not so much to prevent their making their escape, as to secure them against the insults of the people. Of this indulgence the senators and knights were not ignorant; and therefore, having assembled the people, they dispersed the guards, broke open the gates of the palace, and with clubs and stones dispatched Suffeius, Labienus, Equitius, Apuleius himself, and all the leading men of his party. The people, not satisfied with the death of Apuleius, tore his body in a thousand pieces. The storm being over, the comitia assembled in tranquillity, and all the acts of the preceding tribunate were declared null for want of liberty in the suffrages. The tribes met again to choose a colleague for Marcus Antonius, who had been elected on the day that Memmius was murdered; and the person raised to that dignity was A. Posthumius Albinus, a man of excellent parts, and a sincere friend to his country'.

*who endeavours to
save them;*

*but in
vain.*

¹ Plut. in Mario. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. i. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 16. Cic. pro Sextio, Rabirio, &c. Val. Max. lib. iii. cap. 1.

The new consular year was begun with purifying the city, which had been polluted with so much blood in the late troubles. To the ceremonies used on this occasion, others succeeded for averting evils foreboded by some imaginary prognostics. In a little time, Sextus Titius attempted to ingratiate himself with the people, and raise new troubles, by reviving the Gracchian law about the division of lands; but the consul M. Antonius prevented the mischief he intended, and brought him into such contempt, that, as soon as he was out of his office, he was accused of the most infamous and unnatural practices, and condemned to banishment. Marius and his adherents being thus baffled in their designs, it was thought a proper season to recall Metellus. All the Cæcilian family, of which the Metelli were a branch, interested themselves in the cause of their relation. The exile's son appeared in deep mourning, fell prostrate before the tribes, and did all for the recalling of his father, which persons accused of capital crimes used to do to save their own lives. This affectionate conduct towards his father procured him the surname of Pius, which he bore the rest of his life. The whole body of the patricians joined with the son, and intreated the people in a public assembly to recall so worthy a citizen. Marius employed all his influence to prevent the return of a patrician who was the support of the senate, a true pattern of the old Roman probity, and the dread of the seditious. In spite of Marius's utmost efforts, equity prevailed, and the return of Metellus was carried by a majority of suffrages^t. All the persons of distinction in Rome went to receive him at the gate of the city; he was accompanied from the gate to his own house by vast crowds of people, who testified the sincerity of their joy by loud acclamations; his house was crowded from morning to night with persons of all ranks, who came to see and congratulate him. His return was a real triumph^u.

Sextus Titius, banished.

Metellus recalled.

Marius, to avoid the mortification of seeing a triumphant enemy, left Rome, and went into Asia, pretending that he was going to perform some sacrifices which he had vowed to Cybele the mother of the gods. The true motive of his voyage was to kindle a war, and cut out new work for his republic. He owed his grandeur wholly to arms, and could not maintain it in peaceable times, being destitute of those talents which were necessary to gain

Marius retires from Rome.

^t Plut. *ibid.* Diodor. in Excerpt. Valef. ^u Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 2. & lib. iv. cap. 1. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 15.

applause in a commonwealth, where eloquence bore a great sway in all public deliberations: in order therefore to have an opportunity of displaying anew his talent for war, he went to the court of Mithridates, king of Pontus, who seemed the most disposed to quarrel. The king received him with all the honour due to his reputation, and did all that lay in his power to oblige a man of so much weight in his republic. Mithridates could draw nothing from the proud Roman but insolent treatment. Marius did not doubt but if he could provoke that powerful and brave king to take up arms against Rome, he should have the command of the forces employed in that war; and therefore he treated him with great haughtiness and contempt. One day he addressed himself to Mithridates in these terms: "You must either, O king, endeavour to be more powerful than the Romans, or quietly submit to their will." The king of Pontus, the proudest prince of his time, was astonished at this discourse. However, as he was a great politician, he did not think this a proper time to declare his resentments; and therefore concealing his displeasure, dismissed Marius loaded with presents *.

*The people
show their
regard for
Metellus.*

The people soon gave Metellus a sensible proof of their regard. Upon his presenting to the tribes his relation Q. Cæcilius Metellus, the people very readily chose him consul, and gave him for his colleague T. Didius, who had been honoured with a triumph fourteen years before for having defeated the Scordisci. The two consuls drew lots for their provinces, when Italy fell to Metellus, and Spain to Didius, whither he carried a consular army to oppose the Spanish rebels, who had taken arms in great numbers, and committed devastations in the Roman province. Under Didius served Sertorius in quality of legionary tribune: he was a native of Nursia in Sabinia, and had already given many proofs of his valour; but in the present war with the revolted Spaniards, his reputation eclipsed that of his general. He reduced the cities of Castulo and Gyrifanium, two places of great importance; and it was chiefly owing to his conduct, that Didius overthrew the Vaccæi, of whom he cut twenty thousand in pieces *.

*Sertorius
gains great
reputation
in Spain.*

After the consul had, by the help of his brave tribune, reduced the rebels, he stained his victory by an instance of the most perfidious cruelty. One of the Roman generals had settled five years before a colony of Spaniards

* Plut. *ibid.*

* Plut. in Sertorio.

near the city of Colenda. These, before they were brought to this new settlement, had committed robberies in several parts of Spain. Didius suspecting, without any grounds, that they designed to return to their ancient way of living, obliged them to quit the lands they were possessed of, and promised them those of Colenda, which city he had just reduced after a nine months siege. The Spaniards, depending on the general's promise, came with their wives and children to the Roman camp, where, under pretence of accommodating them better, they were admitted within the entrenchments. When the cruel consul had them in his power, he caused the whole multitude to be divided into three companies, placing the men in one, the women in another, and the children in the third. The poor people suspected no treachery, till they heard the consul order his legionaries to put them all, without distinction, to the sword. His orders were put in execution with the utmost barbarity, not one of those unhappy people escaping. A most detestable piece of cruelty, but applauded at Rome; to such a degree were the Romans degenerated from their ancient probity! This massacre exasperated the Celtiberians, who faced the consul's army in the open field, and came to a pitched battle with him, in which they fought like men in despair, till night parted the two armies. The loss of the Romans was equal to their's; but Didius, by a stratagem, made them believe that they had been worsted. He ordered most of the bodies of the Romans, who had been slain, to be carried out of the field of battle in the night. The Celtiberians, when they came very early the next morning, according to custom, to bury their dead, were so terrified at seeing such a number of their own men slain, and so few Romans, that they submitted to Didius, upon his own terms. Thus partly by force, and partly by artifice, the Roman general settled Hither Spain in peace, and returned, five years after his consulship, to Rome, where his services were rewarded with a triumph. This same year the prætor Cornelius Dolabella gained considerable advantages over the revolted Lusitanians in Farther Spain. Historians have not given us any account of his exploits, but in the triumphal tables he is said to have triumphed over the Lusitanians.

The consul Metellus maintained peace at home, and punished with the utmost severity all speeches that tended

*Cruelty of
Didius in
Spain.*

*The Celti-
berians
submit to
Didius.*

*The consul
Metellus
maintains
peace at
home.*

to sedition. C. Plautius Decianus, one of the prætors, was banished for dropping, in a public speech, some expressions in favour of the furious tribune Apuleius. The tribunes durst no longer propose seditious laws, or attempt to raise disturbances among the populace. The presence of Metellus, and the absence of Marius, equally contributed to the public tranquillity. In the ancient kingdom of Pergamus, the excellent proconsul Q. Mutius Scævola punished the iniquity of the Roman knights or publicans in a very exemplary manner. On his departure, the Asiatics instituted a festival, to perpetuate among them the memory of his virtues. This festival, which from him was called Mutia, did him more honour than a triumph ².

*Marius dis-
regarded
at Rome.*

In the succeeding consulate of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, and P. Licinius Crassus, Marius returned from Asia; but by this time his popularity was greatly diminished. The roughness of his manners was disgusting to all ranks of people. He met with the fate of most warriors, who live to a great age in peace. Their victories are forgotten, and they are, if not recommended by civil virtues, like old rusty weapons, laid aside as useless. Nothing gave Marius so great uneasiness, as to see his old rival Sylla aggrandize himself, as he thought, at his expence. Bocchus, king of Mauritania, after he had been declared an ally of the Roman people, dedicated in the Capitol several trophies of Sylla's victories, and placed near them some golden statues, representing in what manner he had delivered Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla; Marius, distracted with rage, attempting to pull down a monument, which ascribed to his rival all the glory of so memorable an event; Sylla opposed him with all his influence. The whole city was divided into two factions; but by the vigilance of the consuls, the peace of the city was for the present preserved. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and C. Cassius Longinus, the two succeeding consuls, took more care to maintain tranquillity at home, than to signalize themselves by arms abroad. During their administration, Rome enjoyed all the advantages of peace, and was so sensible of her happiness, that she preferred to the many warriors, who desired to succeed them, a man brought up in peaceable employments, to wit, Licinius Crassus, the famous orator; and Q. Mutius Scævola, a learned civilian.

*Is jealous
of Sylla's
glory.*

² Diodor. Sic. Valef. Cic. ad Attic. lib. vi. & in Verr. act. vii.

*Origin of
the Social
war.*

These pacific consuls, without design, laid the foundation of one of the most bloody wars that had ever broken out in the neighbourhood of Rome. They passed a law, obliging the allies, who lived in Rome, and falsely pretended to the right of Roman citizenship, to return to their own homes. By the help of these intruders, some seditious tribunes had sown discord among the real citizens; whence it seemed but just, that those strangers should be sent home to their respective countries. This law, however equitable in itself, was so resented by the people of the Italian provinces, that it afterwards gave birth to the war of the allies. The consuls, after having passed this law, and drawn lots for their provinces, set out, the one for Transalpine, the other for Cisalpine Gaul. Scævola, to whom Transalpine Gaul had fallen, finding his province in a peaceful state, returned to Rome, and disbanded his army before the year expired, thinking it an unnecessary burden to the republic. Crassus, though he sought for enemies, and searched into all the corners of the Alps for people to fight with, could find none but a company of strolling robbers, whom he defeated. Nevertheless, he demanded a triumph on his return; but his colleague opposed it, declaring that he would not suffer so great an honour to be thrown away on such slight advantages^a. The following consulship of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Cœlius Caldus, was as peaceable as the former. Cœlius was a new man, of no birth or merit, surnamed Caldus, from his warm temper; but he had no opportunity of raising any disturbances, some of the chief nobility being at this time admitted into the college of tribunes. The consulate of C. Valerius Flaccus, and M. Herennius, was remarkable for nothing but the pompous shew of lions, with which Sylla entertained the people, and the unjust condemnation of P. Rutilius Rufus, who was banished.

The following year, when C. Claudius Pulcher and M. Perperna were consuls, the senate ordered Sylla to restore Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, who had been driven from his dominions by Tigranes, king of Armenia. This restoration Sylla effected, after having defeated Gordius, whom the Armenians had placed on the throne, as has been related in the history of Armenia. On this occasion Sylla received an embassy from Arbaces, king of Parthia; desiring the friendship of the Roman people. The

*Ambassadors from
the king of
Parthia to
Sylla.*^a Cic. in Pison. 62.

Roman general thought this one of the most fortunate occurrences of his life, and esteemed it an happy omen, that he should be the first Roman who was known to so warlike and powerful a people ^b.

A Roman censor mourns the death of a fish.

At Rome Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, one of the censors, accused his colleague, L. Crassus, of excessive fondness for one of his murenæ. The favourite murena was so tame, that it would come to Crassus at his call, and feed out of his hand. The grave censor was so fond of this fish, that he took pleasure in adorning it with jewels. When it died, he put himself in mourning, and erected a tomb for it. When Crassus, who was for his eloquence, as Cicero tells us, the wonder of his age, came to speak in his own defence, he was very satirical on his austere accuser, and uttered such ironical jokes as drew upon his colleague the laughter of the whole assembly. "I have been guilty (said he) of this enormous crime: I have, it is true, wept at the loss of a favourite fish: but you, good Domitius, have borne the loss of three wives without shedding a tear ^c." However, the censors, notwithstanding their quarrels, joined in many regulations.

Yr. of Fl.
2258.
Ante Chr.
90.
U. C. 658.

The Social war.

Drusus author of this war.

The ensuing year, Sext. Julius Cæsar (S) and L. Marcus Philippus were raised to the consulate. During their administration, M. Livius Drusus, tribune of the people, occasioned the commencement of that unfortunate war which historians sometimes call the Social War, or the War of the Allies, and sometimes the Marrian war, because it began in the country of the Marsi. Drusus was descended of an illustrious family, and had improved his great talents by the study of eloquence. He was a sincere friend to his country, and therefore, with a view to the public welfare, he attempted to remedy those disorders which had been introduced into the administration; but his remedies increased them, and rendered the distempers of the republic incurable. Though there had been of late no open sedition, he observed that a general dissatisfaction reigned in the three orders of men who constituted the whole body of the commonwealth. The cognizance of civil causes had been, by one of C. Gracchus's laws, taken from the senate, and given to the knights: to this

^b Plut. in Sylla.

^c Macrob. Sat. lib. ii. cap. 22.

(S) This Sextius Julius Cæsar was uncle to the famous Julius Cæsar. His sister Julia was wife to Marius, according to Plutarch; and Suetonius tells us, that she was aunt to Julius Cæsar, the first Roman emperor.

regu-

regulation the fathers would not consent, but insisted on their being reinstated in their ancient privileges: the knights would by no means part with a prerogative which, had been given them by a law passed in the comitia: the people murmured, because the execution of the Gracchian laws was neglected.

The Italian allies were no less dissatisfied than the senate and people. They aspired at the right of suffrage, and at the offices in the republic, which they had so much assisted in her conquests. They remonstrated, that they paid considerable taxes; that in time of war, the countries raised double the number of forces that were raised in Rome; that the commonwealth owed, partly to their valour, that prodigious power which she had acquired; and, lastly, it was but just that they should share the honours of a state which they had helped to aggrandize, both with arms and treasures. Drusus formed a scheme to reconcile all orders of men, and to end all discontents, which, he foresaw, would, in process of time, if not removed, produce a general insurrection. He began with endeavouring to reconcile the senators and knights, thinking he had found out an effectual expedient for gaining so important a point. He proposed to restore to the senate the cognizance of civil causes, which had been conferred on the knights, and to make that order amends, by admitting three hundred of them into the senate. This scheme was no sooner proposed, than both the bodies, which he designed to reconcile, declared against it with great vehemence. The senators refused to admit into their body such a number of men, far inferior to them in birth, which, they said, would depreciate the senatorial dignity; while such of the knights as had reason to fear they should not be in the number of the three hundred designed for senators, declared that they would not, for any equivalent whatsoever, suffer their order to be deprived of a jurisdiction which made them very considerable in Rome. Q. Servilius Cæpio put himself at the head of the knights, and the consul Marcius Philippus appeared for the senate, to oppose the designed accommodation. Philippus, who was a man of a warm temper, having the boldness to interrupt the tribune Drusus while he was haranguing the people from the rostra, and to command him silence; one of the tribune's officers seized the consul so roughly, that the blood gushed out of his nose. Drusus, supported by the people, ordered the consul to be carried to

*Drusus's
scheme to
reconcile
all orders
of men.*

*Is opposed
with great
warmth.*

*Drusus
commands
the consul
to be im-
prisoned.*

prison, for attempting to interrupt a tribune in the exercise of his authority.

*A law
passed fa-
vourable to
the people.
Proposes to
invest the
Italian al-
lies with
the privi-
leges of Ro-
man citi-
zens.*

The tribune, finding his scheme opposed with great warmth, both by the knights and senators, to ingratiate himself with the people, proposed a law for distributing, gratis, among the poor what bread they wanted. He represented, that there was no danger of the treasury's being exhausted by this bounty, since immense sums were annually brought into it from the provinces; that there were at that time lodged in the temple of Saturn, where the public treasures were kept, one million six hundred and twenty thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine pounds weight of gold; and that the public treasury ought not to be like the sea, which swallows up every thing, and returns nothing. The law met with great opposition; but at length passed, to the universal satisfaction of the indigent citizens. Drusus, in order to gain the affections of the Italian allies, especially of the Latins, proposed a law for investing them with all the privileges of Roman citizens. This was opposed with great violence, not only by the senators and knights, but even by the people, who would not consent to make those their fellow-citizens whom they looked upon as their subjects. The Italian allies flocked to Rome from all parts, to support their protector: but finding that they could not by his means gain their point, they entered into a plot, without his knowledge, to extort by force what they despaired of obtaining by interest. Some of their leading men formed a design of assassinating the consuls, during the ceremony of the *ferie Latinæ*, which was annually performed on the hill of Alba, after the election of the great magistrates. Drusus, being informed of the plot, notwithstanding all the care the conspirators took to conceal it, immediately acquainted the consuls with the wicked designs of the allies, and by that discovery saved their lives.

*Drusus as-
sassinated.*

Those whom the well-meaning tribune had saved from a conspiracy, conspired to destroy him: while he was returning from the forum, where he had harangued the people in behalf of the allies, a crowd of people attended him to the door of his house, where he was stabbed with a knife, which the ruffian left in the wound, and then made his escape. When Drusus felt himself wounded, he cried out, "Ungrateful republic! wilt thou ever find a man more zealous for thy true interest than I have been?" and, in a few hours, expired. It was never discovered who hired the assassin;

assassin; but the suspicion of this black attempt fell on the consul Philippus, on Cæpio, and on Varus, one of his fellow-tribunes, who soon after proposed a law, declaring traitors and enemies to the state, all those who should move for granting to the allies the prerogative of citizenship. Drusus was a man of unspotted character, and, for love to his country, not inferior to the greatest heroes of Rome. He was the grandfather of Livia, the wife of Augustus, and, consequently, the great grandfather of the emperor Tiberius ^d.

His character.

The death of Drusus, thus assassinated for attempting to procure the right of citizenship to the Italian allies, provoked them to such a degree, that they began to arm, with a design to do themselves justice. Pompædius Silo, a famous general among the Marſi, put himself at the head of ten thousand men, and marched towards Rome, which he designed to surprise and plunder; but Cn. Domitius, his old friend, meeting him on the road as he was going to his country-house, prevailed upon him to lay aside his design, and to return to his country ^e. As the republic was threatened with a war, two men of distinguished merit were promoted to the consulate; namely, L. Julius Cæsar, and P. Rutilius Lupus. In the beginning of their administration, all the provinces from the Liris to the Adriatic revolted at once. Rome had never engaged more formidable enemies. As they had all served in the armies of the republic, they were as well disciplined as her legions, and their leaders had learnt the art of war under her best commanders. It is said of the Marſi in particular, that Rome had never gained a victory, in which they had not a great share. The first step they took in their revolt, was to erect themselves into a republic, in opposition to that of Rome: Corfinium, a great and strong city in the country of the Peligni, was made the capital of their new republic: thither were carried all the hostages given by the cities in the revolt, together with prodigious stores of arms and provisions. The city of Asculum Picenum, among the rest, resolved to send her hostages to Corfinium, which Q. Servilius, who governed that province in quality of proconsul, no sooner heard, than he hastened to Asculum, and, entering it, threatened the inhabitants with the vengeance of Rome.

The allies arm,

and erect themselves into a republic.

^d Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. i. Vel. Patercul. lib. ii. Liv. Epit. lib. lxxi. cap. 20. Plin. lib. xxxiii. cap. 3. Val. Max. lib. ix. cap. 5. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 17. Auct. de Vir. Illust. ^e Diodor. Sicul. apud. Valeſ. Cic. de Orat. lib. i.

Despising his menaces, they ran to arms, and cut in pieces the proconsul, Fonteius his lieutenant, and all the Romans they found in their territory. War being thus declared, Rome made all possible expedition to levy troops, and appoint the consuls their provinces. Cæsar was ordered into Samnium, and Rutilius into the country of the Marfi. The latter chose for his lieutenant-generals Cn. Pompeius, the father of Pompey the Great, C. Marius, Q. Cæpio, C. Perperna, and Valerius Messala. Cæsar nominated for his chief officers P. Lentulus, Cornelius Sylla, T. Didius, P. Licinius Crassus, and M. Marcellus. Thus were all the commanders of note in Rome employed in this new war. Each of these lieutenants had a body of troops under his command, with the title of proconsul; nor were they confined to particular provinces or districts; every one was ordered to go wherever he was wanted, and all directed to assist each other. The allies chose also their consuls and prætors, and formed a senate, consisting of five hundred persons, to govern their new state; so that Italy was now divided into two great and powerful republics.

Cn. Pompeius put to flight by the allies.

Cn. Pompeius, marching with a detachment from Rome to revenge the death of Servilius on the Asculani, attempted to take their city by assault: but the inhabitants made an unexpected sally, put the Romans to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter. After this incident the two consuls took the field; Julius Cæsar entered Samnium, and Rutilius invaded the country of the Marfi. The Latins, who continued faithful to the republic, furnished their contingent of troops as usual. The Hetrurians likewise, the Umbrians, and the eastern kings, sent supplies to support Rome in so dangerous a war. Sertorius, at this time quæstor in Cisalpine Gaul, brought a reinforcement of Gauls to the relief of his country, fought the allies with his usual bravery, and, having lost one of his eyes in this war, he ever after gloried in that honourable deformity^f.

The country of the Marfi, which had fallen to Rutilius, was defended by two able generals, Præfenteius and Vettius Cato. The former was opposed by C. Perperna, who commanded a great body of troops under the consul. The Roman immediately offered the enemy battle, which Præfenteius did not decline. Both armies fought with

^f Vell. Pater. lib. i. Plut. in Sertorio. Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. i. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 16.

unparalleled bravery ; but the Romans were at last put to the rout, after having lost about four thousand men. A few days after this defeat, Vettius Cato, who opposed Rutilius, being informed that the consul designed to pass the river Telonius in the night, lay in ambush for the consular troops, attacked them unexpectedly, and drove them back into the river. In this action eight thousand Romans were cut in pieces or drowned. The consul was killed, with a great many officers of distinction. The attack was so sudden, that Marius, who was encamped on the banks of the river, at a small distance from the consul, had no notice of it, till the Telonius brought a great number of dead bodies to his camp. The news of this overthrow, and the sight of the consul's body, which was brought to Rome, filled the city with terror. Guards were placed at all the gates, the number of the centinels on the ramparts was increased, and all the avenues well guarded. These were necessary precautions during a war, wherein the soldiers of the two parties were dressed and armed after the same manner, spoke the same language, and were well acquainted with the customs of each other. The legions, which Rutilius had commanded, were divided between Marius and Cæpio. The latter suffered himself to be shamefully over-reached by Pompædus Silo, commander in chief of the allies, who came as a suppliant to the proconsul, accompanied by two young slaves richly dressed, whom he pretended to be his sons, each of them carrying in his hand a lump of lead, the one covered with a thin plate of gold, and the other of silver, which he said were the presents his children came to lay at his feet. The proconsul received Pompædus with great politeness, and admitted him into his confidence ; when the crafty Italian, pretending to lead him to a place where he might surprise the enemy, conducted him into narrow defiles, where the proconsul was slain, and the best part of his army cut in pieces*. Thus fell Q. Cæpio, who, by his warm opposition to Drusus' scheme, had been the chief author of the present war.

These successes raised the courage of the allies, who, under their various leaders, gained considerable advantages over the Romans. Judacilius, Afranius, and Ventidius, three officers of distinction among the confederates, having united their forces, obliged Cn. Pompeius to shelter himself behind the walls of Firmum in Picenum. Marius

*Perperna
defeated by
the allies.*

*The consul
Rutilius
defeated
and killed.*

*Q. Cæpio
defeated
and killed.*

*The allies
gain con-
siderable ad-
vantages.*

* Appian. *ibid.* Oros. lib. v. cap. 28.

Egnatius surprised the city of Venafrum in Campania, and cut in pieces the Roman garrison, consisting of two cohorts. The city of Nola surrendered to Aponius, one of the consuls of the allies, and delivered up to him the Roman garrison, to the number of two thousand men, with the prætor, L. Posthumius, who commanded them. The same Aponius seized the cities of Stabiz, Liternum, and Salernum, and over-ran all Campania. In Lucania, Lamponius drove M. Licinius out of the field, killed eight hundred of his men, and obliged him to take refuge in the city of Grumentum. Judacilius reduced almost all Apulia, and brought the cities of Canusium and Venusia over to the confederates^a.

*The consul,
Julius Cæsar, de-
feated.*

In Samnium the consul Julius Cæsar was defeated by Vettius Cato, the Samnite, and forced to take shelter in a neighbouring city, after having lost two thousand men. However, he soon left the place of his retreat to relieve Aceræ, which was closely besieged by Aponius. That general having released Oxyntas, the son of Jugurtha, from his confinement in the city of Venusia, brought him to his army, and there treated him as king: the Numidians, who served in the consul's army, no sooner heard that the son of their old king was fighting for the allies, than they began to desert by companies; insomuch that the consul was obliged to part with all his Numidian cavalry, and send them back into Africa. This diminution of the consular troops raised the courage of Aponius, who insulted the Romans at the gates of their camp: but Cæsar sallying out unexpectedly, fell so briskly on the enemy, that they were forced to retire, after having lost six thousand men. As this was the first victory the Romans had gained over their allies, it occasioned great joy, both at Rome and in the army. The senate rewarded the brave consul by confirming the title of imperator, which the soldiers had given him on the field of battle.

*The allies
repulsed by
Cæsar.*

Marius being attacked in his camp by Herrius Asinius, the chief of the Marucini, put the enemy to flight, and forced them to take shelter in a place which they deemed inaccessible: but Sylla, whom they did not expect, passing accidentally that way with his flying camp, attacked them, made a terrible slaughter of their troops, and completed the victory with the death of their general; which was no small mortification to Marius. At the same time Servius Sulpitius, having defeated the Peligni, and reduced

*The Maru-
cini defeat-
ed by Ma-
rius and
Sylla.*

^a Appian. & Liv. ibid. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 18. Orof. lib. v. cap. 18:

their whole country, marched to the relief of Cn. Pompeius, who was besieged in Firmum by Afranius, attacked his camp, killed him in the action, and cut most of his troops in pieces. After this victory Pompeius laid siege to Asculum, whither the remains of the enemy's army had fled for refuge. In the country of the Marfi, Marius, after having continued several months in a state of inaction, to inure his troops to discipline, at length took the field, and gave battle. As he was in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and subject to various distempers, his strength and former vivacity had failed him: his troops, not being animated by his example, as they expected, sustained the first shock but faintly, and then fled in disorder to their camp. This was such a mortification to Marius, that, under pretence of his infirmities, he resigned the command and returned to Rome¹.

*Pompeius
overcomes
and kills
Afranius.*

*Marius de-
feated, re-
signs his
command.*

The fame of this victory gained by the Marfi induced the Umbrians and Hetrurians to declare for the confederates. It was therefore necessary for Rome to increase the number of her forces, in proportion as the number of her enemies increased; but, as the capital alone was not able to furnish as many as were requisite to complete the legions that were to be raised, the senate, by a step which was never taken but in the utmost danger, ordered the freed-men to be enlisted, and formed twelve cohorts of them, which were employed as garrisons in the maritime cities; so that Rome could send all her legions, under the command of Lucius Porcius and Aulus Plautius, against the united forces of the Umbrians and Hetrurians, whom they defeated in a pitched battle, but not without the loss of many brave legionaries².

*Freed-men
enlisted at
Rome.*

As the consular year was near expiring, the consul Cæsar, desirous to end the war before he went out of his office, drew up a law, which was confirmed by the senate, enacting, that all the nations in Italy, whose alliance with Rome was indisputable, should enjoy the rights of Roman citizens. This law, which was ever after called the Julian law, much abated the ardour of the enemy, and drew off several nations from the confederacy, though the war was still carried on by the Lucanians, Samnites, Marfi, and Picentes. The new consuls, Cn. Pompeius Strabo and L. Porcius Cato, no sooner entered upon their office than they took the field. The former, who was the father of Pompey the Great, and

*The Julian
law.*

¹ Plut. in Mario & Sylla. Appian. ibid.

² Appian. ibid.

*An army of
Marſi de-
ſtroyed.*

*The gallant
behaviour
of Juda-
cilus.*

*The prætor
Afellio af-
ſaſſinated.*

*The Ro-
man
knights de-
prived of
their juris-
diction.*

called Strabo becauſe he ſquinted, carried on the ſiege of Aſculum, and deſtroyed an army of Marſi who came to its relief: five thouſand were killed upon the ſpot, with their general Francus, a man of great bravery and experience in war; the reſt perished with hunger and cold among the Apennines; where they had taken ſhelter. Aſculum ſtill held out againſt the conſular army, depending on relief from Judacilius, a native of the place. That intrepid commander ordered his countrymen to make a ſally at a time appointed, promiſing to force his way into the city through the Roman army. He made an attempt at the head of eight cohorts, and, though not ſeconded by the Aſculans, bravely performed his promiſe, and entered the place; a glorious action, not inferior to the illuſtrious exploits of the braveſt Romans! Having thus forced his way into the city, he put to death thoſe who had prevented the ſally; then, finding he could not force the Romans to raiſe the ſiege, ended his life by poiſon, that he might not ſurvive the ruin of his country¹.

Aulus Sémpronius Afellio, the prætor urbanus, having exaſperated the rich by his ſevere judgements againſt uſury, was murdered by them, as he ſacrificed to Caſtor and Pollux in the forum. The ſenate ordered enquiries to be made after the authors of this aſſaſſination; but corruption prevented this notorious and ſcandalous iniquity from being puniſhed: however, the tribune M. Plautius Sylvanus, to ſuppreſs the licentiousneſs of the people, made a law, whereby it was declared a capital crime for any citizen to come into the comitium with arms of any kind, or to diſturb the judges in their courts. The ſame tribune, by another law, deprived the Roman knights of their jurisdiction, which they abuſed in a moſt flagrant manner. The Plautian law enacted, that each tribe ſhould chooſe fifteen men out of their own body, to whom the cognizance of civil cauſes ſhould be committed. By this inſtitution men only of known probity had the charge of adminiſtering juſtice, which was done with great impartiality. This zealous tribune, in conjunction with Caius Papirius Carbo, one of his colleagues, completed the Julian law in favour of the allies, and got it confirmed by the people, and publiſhed in the following words: "All the citizens of the allied cities, who ſhall be in Italy at the time of the promulgation of this law, ſhall be deemed

¹ Appian. *ibid.*

Citizens of Rome, provided they register their names with one of the three prætors within sixty days." This decree brought the Italians to Rome in such numbers, that the new citizens soon became more numerous than the old; but, lest this accession should make strangers masters of the elections, and consequently of the republic, the new censors, Lucius Cæsar and P. Licinius Crassus, did not incorporate them in the thirty-five Roman tribes, but formed them into new tribes, who were to vote last; by which expedient all matters were determined by a majority of voices, before the new tribes gave their suffrages. The allies were sensible of this artifice, but dissembled their dissatisfaction, being resolved, when an opportunity offered, to put themselves upon a level with the old inhabitants of Rome^a.

During these regulations at Rome, the war was pursued with vigour in the provinces which continued in the revolt. The consul Pompeius, having turned the siege of Asculum into a blockade, led his best troops against Vettius Cato, defeated him in a pitched battle, and reduced several cities. He afterwards granted Vettius a friendly conference, at which Cicero, who made his first campaign under the consul, was present. How this conference ended we are not told; but all historians agree, that the consul Pompeius put an end to the war with the Vestini^a. In the country of the Marsi, the consul Porcius Cato, after having gained considerable advantages over that warlike people, resolved to force their camp on the banks of the lake Fucinus; but he was killed in the attempt by a dart discharged at him, as was suspected, not by the enemy, but by young Marius, who had quarrelled with him some days before for speaking contemptuously of his father. The Marsi took advantage of this accident, defeated the Romans, and pursued them with great slaughter. On the other hand, the proconsul Cosconius defeated and killed the famous Marius Egnatius in a pitched battle. Upon his death, Trebatius the Samnite took upon him the command of the army; but he was likewise overcome in a second battle, and forced to take refuge in Canusium, after having lost in the action and in the pursuit above fifteen thousand men. Then Cosconius over-ran the countries of the Larinates, Venusians,

The Vestini under Vettius Cato defeated.

The consul Porcius Cato killed.

^a Appian. *ibid.* Aul. Gell. lib. xiii. cap. 4. Liv. *Epit.* lib. lxxiv. cap. 53. Cic. *pro Archia.* Pædian. in Cic. *pro Cornelio.*

^a Festus in Verranis, Cic. *Phil.* ii.

and Pediculi, and reduced them to obedience. The confederates began now to be in pain for Corfinium, the capital of their new republic, and therefore removed their senate and magazines to Esernia in the country of the Samnites. They also sent an ambassador to Mithridates, in Asia, who had now declared against Rome, hoping to obtain from him such supplies as would enable them to recover their affairs; but Sylla, the hero of this campaign, frustrated their expectations.

Advantages gained over the allies.

He besieged the city of Stabiae in Campania, took it by assault, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers. He then marched against the Roman army, who had just murdered their general Posthumus: instead of punishing them, he, to their great surprise, behaved with uncommon civility, and added them to his own legions. When his army was thus reinforced, he undertook the siege of Pompeii, a strong city in the neighbourhood of Stabiae. Cluentius, one of the generals of the allies, having hastened to the relief of the besieged, was repulsed with great loss. Cluentius, having not long after received a reinforcement of Gauls, appeared again in the field, and insulted Sylla within reach of his intrenchments; but a Gaulish champion, who challenged the bravest Roman to single combat at the head of the two armies, being killed by a young Mauritanian, the rest, struck with a panic, fled, and the troops of Cluentius followed their example. Sylla pursued them, cut thirty thousand of the fugitives in pieces; and then, returning to the siege of Pompeii, reduced that important place. From Pompeii he marched to Nola, whither Cluentius had fled with the remains of his shattered army. He attacked him under the walls of that city, killed him in the battle, with twenty thousand Samnites, who had flocked from all parts to join the army after his first defeat. The victorious general, having plundered the enemy's camp, brought his legions into Hirpina, which he reduced, after having made himself master of Asculana, the metropolis of the country. He then fell upon Samnium, where he was surrounded in narrow passes by the famous Aponius, and reduced to the utmost distress: however he found means to recover this false step, and escape, when all his men looked upon themselves as lost. He agreed to a truce with Aponius, then stole out of his camp in the dark, and fell on the enemy's rear, while they were busy in plundering the deserted camp, so vigorously and so unexpectedly, that the Samnites, seized with terror, fled without making any resistance. Having now

now no enemy to contend with in the field, he marched to Bovianum, and took it by storm *.

The consul Pompeius, after a long siege, reduced the city of Asculum, and punished with the utmost severity the inhabitants, who had murdered a Roman prætor. He saved a small number of their chiefs to grace his triumph, and caused all the other persons of distinction in the place to be put to death. To the rest of the inhabitants he granted life and liberty; but confiscated their lands, and gave their houses up to be plundered by his soldiers.

Asculum reduced, and the inhabitants massacred.

When winter approached, the generals returned to Rome, where Sylla, who had eclipsed all the other commanders during this campaign, was rewarded with the consulate: he had also interest enough to get Q. Rufus Pompeius, whose son had lately married his daughter Cornelia, chosen for his colleague. The consul Pompeius, on his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, which many illustrious captives graced, and among the rest P. Ventidius and his wife, who carried in her arms her young son, whom we shall see in the course of this history consul in Rome, and riding in triumph to the Capitol, after having conquered the most formidable enemy Rome ever engaged.

Sylla chosen consul.

When Sylla entered on his new office, he used all his interest with the patricians and plebeians to obtain the command of the army which was to be employed against Mithridates; in this he was opposed by Marius, who, though worn out with many distempers, and insufficient for that service, was still desirous of appearing at the head of an army. In order to supplant his rival Sylla, he contracted a strict friendship with P. Sulpitius, tribune of the people, whose character Plutarch gives us in the following words: "Sulpitius (says he), exceeded all men in wickedness; he was a compound of cruelty, impudence, and all sorts of crimes, which he committed with the greatest confidence and unconcern. He kept three thousand desperate men in regular pay, and had constantly about him a company of young knights, whom he styled his antisenatorial band." The seditious tribune, to strengthen his own and Marius's party, passed several laws in favour of the people, whom by these means he gained over to his interest. He then applied himself wholly to secure the interest of the Italian allies; and with this view, he pro-

Marius jealous of Sylla's glory.

* Plut. in Sylla. Appian. ibid. Plin. lib. iii. cap. 3. Liv. Epit. lib. lxxv. P. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 65. Plin. lib. vii. cap. 43.

Proposes a law in favour of the allies.

passed a law, enacting, that all the inhabitants of Italy, who had lately obtained the right of citizenship, should be incorporated into the thirty-five tribes, and consequently have the very same right of voting, each in his tribe, as others had, without any distinction. This was effectually making himself master of a majority of voices on all occasions; for he did not doubt but all the new citizens would vote as he should direct.

The Marucini, Vestini, &c. reduced.

Before the comitia met for accepting or rejecting this law, Rome had the satisfaction to hear, that her generals against the allies were attended with uncommon success. Ser. Sulpicius brought the whole country of the Marucini under subjection. The Vestini and Peligni submitted to the old consul Cn. Pompeius, who returned, after his triumph, to his camp at Asculum: they attempted to deliver up their leader Vettius; but as they were dragging him along in chains, a faithful slave, thinking it his duty to deliver his master from the insults of his haughty enemies, first stabbed him, and then killed himself. L. Licinius Muræna, and Q. Cæcilius Pius, obliged the Marci, among whom the war had begun, to sue for peace; but the brave Pompædus supported the sinking cause at the head of twenty thousand slaves, whom he had armed. Against him marched Cæcilius Pius and Ser. Sulpitius, and gave him battle, in which he was killed, and his army routed. The only place that held out for the allies was Nola; and Sylla set out from Rome to reduce it: but he was soon recalled, to restrain the insolence of the tribune Sulpitius, who carried all before him at Rome by violence and force. He had already appointed a day for the comitia to meet, in order to accept the law for incorporating the allies into thirty-five tribes. Sylla, upon his arrival, joined his colleague Pompeius Rufus, and both agreed to order several ferix or holidays to be kept, during which it was not lawful for the people to meet or transact any business. This step they took in order to gain time; but Sulpitius no sooner heard that the consuls had proclaimed ferix, than he left his house, and attended by his guards, whom he ordered to conceal daggers under their robes, marched to the temple of Castor, where the consuls had assembled the senate. The fathers were surprised when they saw Sulpitius appear, and more so, when they heard him insolently command them to annul the consular decree, which ordered ferix to be kept. The consuls op-

Disputes raised in Rome by Sulpitius.

posed the repealing of the decree, and several of the senators espoused their cause. Then the furious tribune let loose his antisenatorial band, who drawing their daggers, fell upon the defenceless senators. The consul Pompeius escaped in the croud; but his son, a young senator, who had lately married Sylla's daughter, was killed by the assassins. Sylla, being closely pursued by Sulpitius's ruffians, took refuge in the house of Marius, who, though naturally cruel and revengeful, did not care to stain his hands with the blood of a consul, in violation of the rites of hospitality. He only forced him to swear, that he would abolish the *feriæ*, which he had appointed. After having exacted this oath, Marius let Sylla escape by a back-door. Sylla performed his promise; for he went directly to the *comitium*, and, in the presence of the people, repealed the *feriæ*. By this compliance he so far pleased Sulpitius, that the tribune did not deprive him of his office; though he prevailed upon the people, whose suffrages he had at his command, to depose Pompeius.

The son of Pompeius killed.

Sylla, not thinking himself safe in Rome, where the opposite party prevailed, left the city, and repaired to his camp near Nola. The *feriæ* being repealed, and both consuls fled, Sulpitius, now absolute master at Rome, got the law passed, incorporating the allies into the thirty-five tribes, and at the same time extorted from the people another in favour of Marius. The senate had already invested Sylla with the command of the army which was to be employed against Mithridates; but Sulpitius got a law passed, exacting, that the consul should continue in Italy; and that Marius, though now only a private man, should command the Roman legions in Asia. Marius no sooner received his commission than he dispatched two military tribunes, one of whom was Gratedius, to acquaint the troops under the command of Sylla, that their general was changed, and that they were no longer to obey Sylla, but Marius, whom the Roman people had appointed to carry on the war against the king of Pontus. The soldiers, who were attached to Sylla, instead of obeying the orders brought from Marius, buried the two messengers under a heap of stones, and cried out, "Let us march to Rome, let us revenge there the injuries done to the consular dignity, and the oppression of our fellow-citizens." On the other hand Marius, by way of reprisal for the death of the two tribunes, put Sylla's friends in the city to the sword,

Sylla retires from Rome.

The people appoint Marius to command in Asia.

* Plut. & Appian. *ibid.*

people, till it had been approved of by the senate. 2dly, That the comitia should not for the future be held by tribes, but by centuries. 3dly, That no citizen who had been tribune of the people, should be capable of any other magistracy. 4thly, That all the laws of Sulpitius should be declared null. These proposals coming from a man who was at the head of six legions, and master of Rome, were readily accepted by the people.

Marius and Sulpitius proscribed.

Articles of impeachment were drawn up against Caius Marius, his son, the tribune Sulpitius, several other tribunes of the people, two senators, and many of their adherents: they were all proscribed, declared enemies to Rome, and a reward set upon their heads; the decree of the senate proscribing them was proclaimed by sound of trumpet in Rome, and in all the provinces subject to the republic; every subject, friend, or ally of the republic, was ordered to put them to death, wherever they should be found. At the same time Sylla detached troops to all parts. Sulpitius, being betrayed by one of his slaves, was immediately seized, and his head struck off by one of Sylla's horsemen: it was then brought to Rome, and fixed upon a stake near the rostra, where he had made many seditious speeches. The treacherous slave received the reward and punishment due to his treachery: Sylla set him at liberty, ordered the money to be paid him for the discovery of Sulpitius; but at the same time commanded him to be thrown down from the Tarpeian rock for betraying his master.

Sulpitius seized, and killed.

The senate and people displeased with Sylla's conduct.

The people could not behold the head of one of their magistrates exposed to public view without indignation. The senate likewise murmured at the proscription of Marius; though the fathers were pleased to see the people humbled, yet they were much incensed that their colleagues should be proscribed like villains and thieves: and the people in general reproached Sylla with ingratitude, for condemning to death a man, who, not long before had saved his life. Sulpitius advised Marius to dispatch Sylla; but he chose rather to spare his life, for which benefit Sylla made him a very ungrateful and ungenerous acknowledgement. These reflections alienated the minds of all from Sylla, as he experienced at the next elections; for Nonnius, his sister's son, and Servius Sulpitius, who had long served under him, were excluded from the con-

† Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. i. & Plut. in Sylla. lib. vi. cap. 5.

‡ Val. Max.

fulate, though earnestly recommended by him. Instead of resenting such treatment, he affected to be well pleased with it, saying, "That he saw with joy the people by his means restored to their liberty of choosing whom they pleased:" and, to reconcile the minds of the people to him, he suffered them to raise to the consulate L. Cornelius Cinna, who was of the contrary faction, after having prevailed upon him to renounce, in the most solemn manner, his former principles and engagements with Marius, and to swear an inviolable attachment to the party of the senate. This oath Cinna took in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and added to it the following imprecation: "If I do not punctually observe this oath in its full extent, may I be thrown out of the city in the same manner as I throw this stone out of my hand!" at which words he threw on the ground a stone which he held in his hand. Cinna was a man of depraved manners, furious and inconsiderate in all his undertakings, wholly addicted to the popular faction, a declared enemy to the nobility, and capable of supporting the interest of his faction with a courage and constancy worthy of a better citizen. The colleague given him by the tribes was Cn. Octavius, a man of an unblemished character, whose love for his country was the governing principle of his life. Sylla was now employed in making the best use of the time he and Pompeius were to enjoy the consulate. Their chief aim was to destroy the Marii, for whom, though proscribed, interest was secretly made in Rome. A great price was set upon their heads, and squadrons of horse sent in quest of them, had been long scouring the neighbouring country, with orders to bring them to Rome dead or alive.

Cinna chosen consul.

His character.

The sufferings and dangers of Marius in his flight and exile were very extraordinary, and would be affecting, if we could forget his crimes and remember only his victories. As soon as he escaped from Rome, all those who attended him in his flight dispersed; and night coming on, he retired with young Marius, and Granius, his wife's son by a former husband, to a small house he had near the city. From thence he sent his son for provisions to a neighbouring farm of his father-in-law, Mucius (T); but being

The flight and adventures of Marius.

* Plut. in Sylla. Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. i.

(T) This Mucius was the famous Quintus Mucius Scaevola, one of the most virtuous and learned citizens of Rome. When

being informed that a party of horse was searching for him in that neighbourhood, he left his house, without waiting for his son's return, and, attended by Granius alone, hastened to Ostia, where a friend of his, called Numerius, had provided a ship for him. He immediately went on board, and weighing anchor, coasted along the Italian shore. He was in no small apprehension of one Geminus, a leading man in Terracina, and his sworn enemy; he therefore directed the seamen to keep clear of that place, and avoid a shore which might prove fatal to him; but the wind shifting on a sudden, and blowing hard, the mariners, fearing the ship would not be able to weather the storm, and seeing Marius sea-sick, tacked about, and with great difficulty made Circæum. There they landed Marius, who, oppressed with hunger, exhausted with the fatigues of the sea, and surrounded with dangers on all sides, rambled about the fields in the utmost distress.

*His son's
narrow
escape.*

Marius, the son, was exposed to equal dangers at the house of Mucius, where he made haste to provide himself with such things as he wanted, and to pack them up; but day-light overtaking him, he had like to have been discovered by a party of Sylla's horse, who appeared at a distance, riding full speed towards the farm; but the faithful slave, who took care of it, found an expedient to save the life of the young Roman: he hid him in a cart loaded with beans, and then yoking his horses, drove towards the horsemen, as if he was going with his cart to Rome. The soldiers passed him, and breaking into the house, searched every corner of it; but in the mean time the slave conveyed young Marius to his wife, who imme-

When Sylla appeared in Rome after the defeat of Marius, and all things gave way to the will of the conqueror, Scævola alone had courage to oppose, in Sylla's presence, the sentence of condemnation which the senators were going to pass against Marius. When the conqueror threatened him with the severest vengeance if he refused to subscribe to the decree of proscription, "You attempt in vain (said he) to intimidate me with your threatenings. You may let out, if you please, the little blood that is left in my veins. Neither the sight of the armed soldiers who surround you, nor the fear of any punishment you can inflict upon me, shall ever force me to declare that hero an enemy to his country to whom Rome is indebted for her safety, and her most glorious conquests (1)."

(1) Val. Max. lib. iii.

diately supplied him with money and provisions. As soon as it grew dark, he repaired to the sea-side, where he went on board a ship, bound for Africa, and ready to set sail. He had a good passage, and arrived safe in a country where his father was known and revered *.

Marius, wandering about the fields in the neighbourhood of Circæum, towards the evening met with some cowherds, of whom he begged a morsel of bread; but they were not able to relieve him. Some of them knowing Marius, advised him to be gone as soon as possible; for they had seen, a little beyond the place, a party of horse in search of him. He therefore turned out of the high road, and, oppressed with hunger and weakness, reached a neighbouring wood, where he passed the night very uncomfortably. Next day Marius, pinched with hunger, and willing to make use of the little strength he had left, travelled by the sea-side, amusing Granius, and the few domestics he had with him, with several stories to lessen their fatigues, and encourage them not to desert him. He told them, that when he was a child, an eagle's airy, with seven young ones in it, fell into his lap; and that his parents, being much surprised at the accident, consulted the augurs about it, who answered, that the child would be seven times possessed of the supreme power and authority in his country. This fable was undoubtedly invented by Marius to support the courage of those who were with him. Plutarch tells us, that an eagle never hatches more than two eaglets at a time; however, it is certain, that Marius, in his extremities, used often to say, that he still entertained hopes of a seventh consulship †.

*Marius in
the utmost
distress.*

When Marius and his company were within twenty furlongs of Minturnæ, they discovered a troop of horse making up to them, and at the same time two small vessels under sail near the shore. They immediately threw themselves into the sea and swam towards the ships. Granius soon reached one of them; but Marius, whose body was heavy and unwieldy, was with great difficulty borne above the water by two slaves, and put into the other vessel. He had scarce got on board, when the soldiers, who were in quest of him, came to the strand, and from thence commanded the mariners to send the proscribed persons ashore, or throw them overboard. The sailors deliberated whether they should deliver up Marius to his enemies, or secure his escape; at last compassion prevailed.

*He saves
himself on
board a
vessel.*

* Plut. in Mario.

† Idem ibid.

The vessels continued their course, and one of them landed Granius in the island of *Ænaria*; but the sailors who had Marius on board, changing on a sudden their resolution, came to an anchor at the mouth of the *Liris*. There they advised him to land and take some rest, till the wind should become more favourable. Marius followed their advice; and, lying down in an adjacent field, slept very soundly.

Comes ashore, and is entirely abandoned.

In the mean time the master of the vessel weighed anchor, and put to sea with a fair gale, thinking it neither honourable to deliver Marius into the hands of his enemies, nor safe to favour his escape. When Marius awakened, he found himself entirely deserted; no ship at anchor; no domestics about him; all had disappeared. This melancholy solitude increased his fears; he began to suspect his former domestics, and every thing seemed to threaten him with death. After he had lain some time pensive, he started up, and walking cross the marshes formed by the overflowing of the *Liris*, wandered about, often wading through the mire and water up to the waist. At length he reached the hut of an old peasant who looked after the fens. Marius earnestly besought him to assist and preserve a man, who, if he escaped the present danger, would make him returns beyond his expectation. The poor man, struck with the venerable aspect of Marius, whom perhaps he likewise knew, told him, that if he wanted only rest, his cottage was very quiet; but, if he wanted to be concealed, he would lead him to a more private place. Marius desiring to be concealed, the old man conducted him into the fens, made him lie down in a cave by the river-side, and covered him with reeds. He was scarce laid down, when he heard a noise round the cottage. *Geminus* had sent several troops of horse from *Terracina*, suspecting that Marius had fled to the marshes of *Minturnæ*. These threatened the peasant with the displeasure of the consuls and senate, and the severest punishments, for harbouring and concealing an enemy to the republic. Marius, who heard all this conversation, thinking himself no longer safe in the place where he lay concealed, to deceive both the old man and the soldiers, left the cave, and pulling off his garments, plunged into the lake of *Marcia* up to the chin, and covered his head with reeds; but the soldiers observing the water muddy about the place where Marius had plunged into the lake, discovered him, and tying a cord about his neck, dragged him out of his new hiding-place, and led their prisoner to *Minturnæ*, to be there executed, pursuant

Marius discovered and seized.

suant to the decree of the senate, which had been published in all the cities of Italy.

The magistrates of Minturnæ, into whose hands he was delivered by the soldiers, considering that his faction was still formidable, and that Sylla's consulship was near expiring, thought it dangerous to prefer either party to the other, and therefore were not in haste to put the sentence in execution. They did not even imprison Marius; but sent him, under a strong guard, to the house of one Fannia, a rich woman, who was suspected not to be well affected to the unfortunate captive. She had been formerly married to one Tinnius, from whom being afterwards divorced, she demanded her portion, which was very considerable. Her husband, not disposed to return it, accused her of adultery; and the cause was brought before Marius in his sixth consulship. Upon enquiry, it appeared, that Fannia had been guilty of incontinence before matrimony, and that it was not unknown to Tinnius; notwithstanding which he married her, and had cohabited with her a considerable time. Marius, therefore, after having heard both parties, ordered Tinnius to return the fortune, and laid a small fine upon Fannia. The Minturnenses took it for granted, that this woman would resent the disgrace with which Marius had branded her; but Fannia, thinking she had more reason to thank Marius for having secured her dower, than to be offended at him for the easy fine he had laid upon her, did all that lay in her power to comfort and encourage him in his adversity (U).

Is not sent to the prison, but to a private house.

The magistrates of Minturnæ, determined at last to obey the decree of the senate, and put Marius to death immediately; but none of their citizens daring to imbrue his hands in the blood of so glorious a conqueror, an executioner was chosen out of the troops of the garrison. When he went into the room where Marius was lodged, with his sword drawn, the eyes of that great warrior, as

The executioner struck with terror at the sight of Marius.

(U) When Marius was brought to Fannia's house, as soon as the door was open, an ass came running out to drink at an adjoining spring; and looking very brisk upon Marius, first stood before him, then brayed aloud, and pranced by him. This incident was enough to raise the spirits of the proscribed general, who was superstitious even

to childishness. He now fancied, that the sea would be more favourable to him than the land, since the ass neglected its dry pasture, and turned from it to the water; and therefore, when the Minturnenses resolved to favour his escape, he conjured them to conduct him to the sea-side.

the

He is set at liberty.

the place where he lay was dark, seemed to dart out flames; and at the same time the ruffian heard, or pretended to hear, a loud voice, saying, "Stop wretch! darest thou kill Caius Marius?" This apostrophe filled him with terror; he dropped his sword, and rushing out into the street, uttered these words only, "I cannot kill Caius Marius!" This circumstance raised the compassion of the Minturnenses, who immediately reversed their sentence, and were angry with themselves for having made such an ungrateful return to one who had preserved Italy. They therefore cried out with one voice, "Let him go where he pleases; let him find his fate somewhere else; we beg pardon of the gods for thrusting Marius distressed and naked out of our city." They then crowded into his room, removed him from thence, and conducted him to the sea-side, every one lending an helping hand to forward his flight, and striving to outdo each other in relieving and comforting the distressed hero. In order to reach the sea-side, they were obliged either to pass through a grove consecrated to the nymph Marica, or to go a great way about. The Minturnenses had a singular veneration for this grove, and never suffered any thing to be removed that was once within it; they therefore scrupled to pass through it, and were in great perplexity, fearing they might be overtaken by one of Sylla's parties, who were scouring the country, before they reached the sea-side the other way. While they were deliberating among themselves which way they should take, an old man among them cried out, "There is no place so sacred but we may pass through it for the preservation of Marius." In consequence of this exclamation, Marius first entered the grove, and the whole company marched after him, and arrived safe at the sea-side, where he went on board a small vessel, which had been provided for him by one Belæus. Marius, when he returned to Rome at the head of an army, caused this adventure to be represented in a large painting, and hung it up in the temple of Marica, whom some take to be the same with Circe².

He arrives at the island of Ænaria.

The illustrious exile was not come to an end of his labours. He ordered his pilot to steer for the island of Ænaria, where he arrived safe, and rejoined Granius, whom he took on board with his other friends, and then sailed for Africa; but their water being exhausted, they were

² Plut. in Mario. Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 2. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii.

forced

forced to touch at Eryx in Sicily. There the Roman quæstor, who was appointed to guard the coast, and put to death such of the proscribed Romans as should land, had like to have seized Marius, and actually killed sixteen of his retinue, who were gone ashore to fetch water. Marius putting to sea again with all expedition, made the island of Meninx near the Little Syrtis, where he was informed, that his son had made his escape with Cethegus; and that they were both gone to the Numidian court, to implore the assistance of king Hiempsal. Being comforted with this intelligence, he passed over to the continent of Africa, and landed at the old port of Carthage. He had scarce landed, when Sextilius, who then governed the African province in quality of proprætor, was informed of his arrival. As Sextilius was a politic man, and neither cared to disobey the orders of the senate, nor incur the hatred of the Marian faction, by putting this great man to death, he sent one of his officers to him, advising him to seek a retreat elsewhere, and threatening to put the decree of the senate in execution if he did not retire. At this message Marius was ready to sink under the weight of his calamity: he continued some time silent, looking sternly upon the messenger; and at length, when the officer asked what answer he should return to the prætor, "Go, tell your master (said he), that you have seen the exiled Marius sitting on the ruins of Carthage." Whether the prætor was moved by this pathetic message, so expressive of the true sublime, is uncertain; but Marius seems to have continued some time in that neighbourhood^a.

*Lands in
Africa.*

Young Marius, who, with Cethegus, had set sail for Africa, landing on the coast of Numidia, was received in a very gracious manner by king Hiempsal, or, as others will have it, by his son Mandrestal, who had succeeded to the crown; but that prince, being irresolute, and undetermined what part to act, whenever his noble guest talked of departing, found out some pretence to detain him. From these evasions, Marius and Cethegus began to suspect, that treachery lay concealed under the extraordinary civilities shewn them by the Numidian king; and would have made their escape, had they not found themselves watched, and kept in a kind of honourable captivity. They found means at last to elude the king's designs. Their safety was owing to a very seasonable adventure: as young

*Advantages of
young Ma-
rius at the
court of
Numidia.*

^a Plut. in Mario. Appian. lib. i. de Bell. Civil.

*He meets
his father.*

Marius was very handsome and well-shaped, one of the king's concubines fell in love with him, and even made him acquainted with her passion. He declined at first entering into any correspondence with her, from regard to the sacred laws of hospitality; but finding at last, that by her means alone he could avoid the snares that were laid for him, he listened to the fair Numidian, who found means, as her love was not merely the effect of an irregular appetite, to convey him and his companions safe out of the king's dominions. The young Roman hastened to the Roman province, where he found his father just landed. They immediately began to consult about the present situation of their affairs. As they were walking by the sea-side, the old hero observing two scorpions fighting with great fury, he drew sinister interpretations from that combat. "Let us fly (said he to his son), let us fly; some great danger threatens us here." So saying, he and his company went immediately into a fisher's boat, and made towards Cercina, an island not far from the continent. They had scarce put off from the shore, when they saw the coast covered with horsemen, whom the king had sent to bring back young Marius. In the island of Cercina, which lay near the Little Syrtis, now known by the name of Cereara, they found Albinovanus, who was likewise proscribed; and there they spent the winter together^b.

*Pompeius
Rufus takes
the field a-
gainst the
allies.*

During these occurrences, Sylla and his colleague Q. Pompeius Rufus, acted in concert at Rome, and endeavoured to quiet the minds of the people. No attempt being made to oppose their measures, and a seeming calm reigned among all orders of men, the consul Pompeius, who had not yet appeared at the head of his legions, resolved to take the field, and march against those few allies who still continued in arms. The Roman army was under the command of Pompeius Strabo, who, after his triumph, had returned to his old camp, with the title of proconsul. When he heard that the consul was coming to succeed him, and snatch out of his hands the glory of finishing a war, in which he had acquired so much honour, he persuaded his troops not to part with a general, under whose conduct they had gained many victories. However, the consul was quietly received in the camp, and took possession of the army, the proconsul investing him in his office, and with the ornaments of his new dignity, without betraying the least reluctance; but the next day, when the

^b Plut. in Mario.

legions were assembled to assist at the sacrifice, which new generals used to offer, some legionaries attacked the consul, and killed him at the foot of the altar. In this tumult Pompeius Strabo acted his part with great dexterity; he shed tears over the body of the consul, broke out into bitter invectives against the assassins who had imbrued their hands in the blood of the supreme magistrate of the republic, and threatened to sacrifice to his manes all those who had perpetrated a crime, of which there had been yet no instance in the republic. Notwithstanding these declarations, he made no enquiry after the criminals, but, though continued in the command of the army, buried the whole in oblivion ^c.

He is assassinated by his soldiers.

Sylla, who had but a few days to continue in his office, being alarmed at the assassination of his colleague, resolved to set out immediately for Asia. However, he was forced to continue some days at Rome after his consulship was expired, and had the mortification to see the first furious steps of Cinna, whom he believed entirely cured of his mad zeal for the popular faction; for he no sooner entered upon the consulship, than joining with M. Virginus, tribune of the people, he cited Sylla, to whom he had sworn an inviolable attachment, to appear on a charge of mal-administration. That general, not thinking himself any longer safe in Italy, embarked his troops, and set sail for the East, leaving Rome at the mercy of Cinna and his faction. Their first attempt was to get a law passed in favour of the allies, whom Cinna was for incorporating into the thirty-five tribes, and putting upon a level with the ancient citizens. The consul Octavius, who was attached to the senate, foreseeing, that by this important service Cinna would secure the votes of the new citizens, and carry all before him in the assemblies of the people, opposed the law with all his interest. Cinna therefore ordered the new citizens to come to the comitium with daggers under their robes, being resolved to get the law passed by force. Octavius, when informed of these unwarrantable proceedings, resolved to oppose force with force; and accordingly went to the forum, attended by a numerous body of old citizens, with arms concealed under their garments. He no sooner appeared in the forum, than the new citizens, at the instigation of Cinna, fell upon him with great fury. Octavius stood

Sylla cited to give an account of his conduct, sets sail for Asia.

Cinna raises new disturbances.

^c Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. i. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 20. Val. Max. lib. ix. cap. 7

*A battle in
the forum.*

his ground; and a battle ensued, in which, as the two parties were shut up in a narrow compass, much blood was shed. The new citizens were overpowered, and driven from street to street, till they abandoned the city, together with the consul Cinna, and six tribunes of his faction. We are told, that ten thousand of the new citizens were killed in this battle ^d.

*Cinna sol-
icits suc-
cours from
the allies.*

Cinna, being thus driven from the capital, had recourse to the neighbouring cities, soliciting troops and money to maintain what he called the cause of the allies. As soon as he was gone the senate deposed him, and chose L. Cornelius Merula consul in his room. This new insult quickened his application to the allies, who concurred with uncommon cheerfulness to supply him with troops and money. The great sums he received enabled him to corrupt a considerable body of Roman troops that lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Capua. They joined him, and took the military oath, which he administered in his consular habit, as if he had not been deposed. When the allies heard that he was at the head of a Roman army, they flocked to him in such crowds, that in a short time he had no fewer than thirty legions under his banners.

*Is joined by
great num-
bers of
them.*

*Marius
recalled.*

Cinna now resolved to recall the proscribed; and accordingly dispatched an express to Marius, who was still in the little island of Cercina, acquainting him, that he might return to Italy without fear of the senate and their decrees. This step alarmed the fathers, who immediately ordered the two consuls, Octavius and Merula, to fortify both the city and citadel, by placing all the balistæ and catapultæ in the magazines on the walls. They were also commissioned to raise what forces they judged necessary, and to take into the service such of the confederates as had not declared for Cinna. The fathers recalled Pompeius Strabo, who was making war with some small remains of the revolted Italians on the coasts of the Adriatic sea, and was at the head of a very numerous army; but that general, not being yet determined what party to take, affected delays, and conducted himself so artfully, that it was not known what side he favoured ^e.

*Marius
lands in
Italy.*

Marius, putting to sea with all expedition, landed at Telanum, a port in Hetruria, with a body of Maurusian

^d Plut. in Sertorio.

^e Liv. Epit. Veil. Patere. lib. ii. cap. 21. Oros. lib. v. cap. 19.

horse raised in Africa. Great numbers of shepherds, slaves, and men of desperate fortunes, flocked to him from all parts; so that he soon saw himself at the head of a considerable army. He then sent a messenger to Cinna, signifying that he was ready to acknowledge him for consul, and assist him to the utmost of his power against their common enemies. Cinna immediately acquainted Sertorius with the arrival of Marius, and the tenders he made of his service. Sertorius, having been disoblged by Sylla, who had employed all his interest against him when he stood for the tribuneship, had joined the contrary faction, and at this time shared the command of the army with Cinna. He was a man of great prudence and moderation; and therefore dreading the rough and revengeful temper of Marius, he advised Cinna not to admit him into his army, remonstrating, that Cinna was powerful enough without the addition of Marius's undisciplined troops, to triumph over his enemies; that he could not make Marius his associate, without making him his master; that Marius was insatiably covetous of glory; that he would assume to himself all the success of the war; and lastly, that he was a man in whom it was not always safe to confide. All this Cinna owned to be true: "But how (said he) can I send back a man, who, upon my word, has left Africa, and whom I have invited to join his resentments with our's against our common enemies?" "Since you had invited him to your assistance (replied Sertorius), there was no need of this consultation. The only thing we can do now, is to watch his conduct as narrowly as we mark the designs of our most inveterate enemies." After this secret conference, Cinna sent back the messenger to Marius, styling him proconsul, in his letter, and empowering him to choose lictors for his guard; but Marius, affecting great humility on this occasion, refused the title, the lictors, and all other marks of the proconsular dignity, as not agreeing with his present circumstances. He affected, on the contrary, to wear nothing but an old gown, with his hair and beard dishevelled; he walked with a slow pace, like a man oppressed with his misfortunes: but through the disguise of that mournful countenance, something so fierce appeared in his looks, that he rather created terror than moved compassion^f.

*Cinna
gives Ma-
rius the
title of
proconsul.*

^f Plat. in Mario & Sertorio. Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. i.

*Rome
blocked up
by Cinna,
Marius,
and Sertorius.*

*The first
hostilities.*

Cinna, Marius and Sertorius, took each their province in this new war. In a council of officers they resolved to march directly to the capital. Cinna was appointed to block it up on the side of the Tiber; Sertorius to invest it on the opposite side; and Marius to scour the country, and prevent any provisions from being conveyed into the city either by land or water. Pompeius Strabo was encamped with his army before the gate Collina, to cover the city on that side. This politic general had offered Cinna his service and his army, thinking that his party was most likely to prevail; but Cinna, looking upon him as a time-server, had rejected his offer, which obliged him to join the consuls Octavius and Merula. As he was encamped near Sertorius, the first act of hostility began between these two generals; but it was rather a skirmish than a battle. This rencounter, however, was remarkable for an accident which ought to have given the Romans a distaste for civil wars: two brothers, who had chosen opposite parties, meeting in the heat of the action, the one gave the other a mortal wound, without knowing him; but when he heard the voice of his dying brother, he ran to embrace him, and finding him at the last gasp, "Dear brother (cried he), though different interests have divided us, one common pile shall unite us." This said, he plunged into his own body the sword which was yet stained with the blood of his brother, and died by his side.

This moving accident made some impression on the soldiery; but passion and party-zeal soon hardened their hearts; so that all regard to friends and relations was laid aside by both parties[§].

*Rome in
the utmost
confusion.*

As Cinna's forces increased daily, he formed a fourth army, which he put under the command of Papirius Carbo. This filled the city with dread and confusion. The two consuls who defended it, Octavius and Merula, were men of great probity, and much better qualified to maintain the laws and religion in their purity, than to sustain the attacks of an enemy. Octavius was so scrupulous an observer of the most venerable customs in Rome, that they in vain pressed him, even in this crisis, to arm the slaves in defence of the city. He told them, "That he would not make slaves free of that city, from which, in maintenance of the laws, he was driving away Marius." Merula relied more on the protection of Jupiter, whose

§ Oros. lib. v. cap. 19. Liv. Epit.

flamen he was, than on the valour of the brave men he had under his command. The senate therefore had recourse to Cæcilius Metellus, the son of Metellus Numidicus, who was making war upon the revolted Samnites, with a considerable body of Roman troops. The senate, acquainted with the ability and courage of that general, sent him orders to end that war, upon as honourable conditions as he could obtain; to march his army immediately to the relief of his country, and, if he could not conclude a peace, to leave his troops under the command of his lieutenants, and return to Rome.

Metellus called to the assistance of the city.

Metellus immediately entered into a treaty with the Samnite generals; but while the negotiations were carrying on, Marius, by offering the Samnites more advantageous terms than Metellus had proposed, gained them over to his party; so that Metellus, leaving his forces to his lieutenants, returned to the capital. There he no sooner appeared, than the soldiers, dissatisfied with the indolence of the consuls, demanded him for their general, declaring, that, under the conduct of so brave a commander, they did not fear repulsing the enemy, and saving Rome; but Metellus, as modest as brave, rejected these seditious discourses with indignation, upbraided the soldiers with want of discipline, and openly declared, that he would not assume an office which properly belonged to the consuls. Many of the citizens, in despair of being able to defend the city, deserted in companies to Cinna, whose generals were not so scrupulously virtuous: Sertorius was the only man of the party who had either honour or virtue. In the mean time Marius made himself master of all the maritime places in the neighbourhood of Rome; took Ostia by treachery, pillaged it, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and building a large bridge over the Tiber, cut off all communication between the city and the sea. He then marched with his army towards the city, and posting himself on the Janiculum, blocked it up on that side ^b.

Marius gains over the Samnites.

Marius takes Ostia

Though the capital was greatly weakened by daily desertions, yet Octavius found means to raise a considerable army in it, with which he encamped under the walls, as did likewise Q. Metellus and Pompeius Strabo, each of them commanding a separate body. Cinna, who scrupled no attempt which could serve his cause, undertook for the assassination of Pompeius Strabo in his tent; but his son

^b Plut. Appian. Liv. *ibid.*

*Pompey
saves his
father's
life.*

saved his life; which was the first remarkable action of Pompey the Great. Young Pompey, who was making his first campaign under the proconsul his father, had chosen for his companion one Terentius, a patrician of his own age. The treacherous Cinna, by many alluring promises, gained over Terentius to his interest, and prevailed upon him to undertake the murder of the general and his son, and at the same time the seducing of his army, and carrying the legions to Sylla's camp. Young Pompey, receiving notice of this design a few hours before it was to be put in execution, placed a faithful guard round the prætorium; so that none of the conspirators, who had designed to set fire to the general's tent, could come near it. He then watched all the motions of the camp, and endeavoured to appease the fury of the legionaries, by such acts of prudence as were worthy of the oldest commanders. Some of the mutineers having forced open one of the gates of the camp, in order to desert to Cinna, the general's son, lying on his back in their way, cried out, "That they should not break their oath, and desert their commander, without passing over his body." By this expedient he put a stop to their desertion, and afterwards, by his affecting speeches, and engaging carriage, reconciled them to his father¹.

*Marius
makes an
attempt on
the Jani-
culum.*

Marius, who was encamped on the Janiculum, used his utmost efforts to make himself master of the strong fort built on that hill, and was very near succeeding in his attempt, by the treachery of Appius Claudius, a military tribune in the place, who, having formerly received some favours of Marius, opened one of the gates to him; but the garrison made a brave resistance; and Octavius and Pompeius Strabo hastening to their relief, a sharp engagement ensued, which ended to the advantage of the consular troops².

*A plague
in the army
of Pom-
peius, who
is killed by
lightning.*

Notwithstanding this advantage, the city was soon reduced to a most deplorable condition: a plague broke out among the troops of Pompeius with such violence, that in a few days it carried off eleven thousand men. Soon after, the general himself was killed with lightning, which did a great deal of mischief in his army. As Pompeius was a wicked man, capable of the greatest crimes, and had assassinated a consul before the altar, the people, looking upon his death as a punishment upon him from heaven, dragged his body with an iron hook through all the streets

¹ Plut. in Pomp.

² Plut. in Appian. ibid.

of the city, and then threw it into the Tiber¹. The command of his army was given to L. Crassus, who, together with Octavius and Metellus, encamped near the hill Alba, along the Appian Way, with a design to open a communication with the country on that side; but Cinna, Marius, Sertorius, and Carbo, joining their forces, also posted themselves above the consular troops, on the Appian Way; so that no provisions could be conveyed from the country to the city. A famine beginning to be felt in the capital, the people complained loudly of the senate, as if they kept up a war for their private interest, which exposed them, their wives and children, to the danger of being starved. To make the disorder in Rome still greater, Cinna treated privately with the citizens, and, by his emissaries, prevailed upon most of the slaves to shake off their yoke, and take refuge in his camp, where they were declared free. The example of the slaves was followed by citizens of all ranks, who, abandoning the defence of the city, deserted in large companies.

The same spirit of mutiny and desertion reigned in the consular army, which visibly decreased; insomuch that Metellus, despairing of being able to save Rome, left the camp, and retired into Liguria, whence he soon after passed over into Africa. The senate, seeing their party and authority daily declining, and fearing a general insurrection, resolved to come to a treaty with Cinna; and accordingly sent deputies to his camp, with overtures of peace. Cinna, before he heard them, asked, whether they were come to treat with him as consul, or as a private man. This question, which they did not expect, surprised them; and as they had no instructions touching so nice a point, they desired leave to return to Rome to consult the senate. The fathers were greatly perplexed, not knowing what answer to give, nor what course to take. They thought it inconsistent, both with honour and justice, to depose Merula, a wise magistrate, whom they had compelled to quit the office of high-priest of Jupiter, and accept of the consulship. On the other hand, as the city was closely blocked up, and the famine increased, without any hopes of relief, it was to be feared that the populace would rise, and admit the enemy into the city.

*The senate
treats with
Cinna.*

In this dilemma Merula, preferring, like a good citizen, the welfare of his country to his own honour, freely

¹ Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 23. Jul. Obsequ. cap. 116.

abdicated,

Cinna acknowledged consul.

Cinna and Marius enter Rome.

Marius's cruelty.

abdicated, and by his abdication left the senate at liberty to acknowledge Cinna for lawful consul^m. Accordingly the fathers sent back their deputies, with instructions to treat with him as consul, and to invite him to Rome, to exercise the functions of his dignity; however, they were ordered to require of him an oath, that he would spare the blood of the citizens, and put no Roman to death but by due form of law. Cinna refused to take that oath; but protested, that he would never give his consent to the death of any citizen. He even sent word to the consul Octavius, that he would not do amiss to retire from the city till the storm should be blown over. During this conference, Marius, who was present, said nothing; but the severity of his countenance, and the sternness of his looks, threatened the city with blood and slaughter. When the messengers were dismissed, Cinna, Marius, Sertorius, and Carbo began their march at the head of their troops, and advanced towards the city, the senate having ordered the gates to be opened. Cinna entered the city with a strong guard; but Marius halted at the gate, and, when he was pressed to advance, replied, in a sarcastical tone, that he was a banished man, and consequently debarred by the laws from entering; that therefore, if they had any occasion for his service, they must get that law repealed which drove him into exile. Upon this intimation, Cinna marched directly to the forum; and, having assembled the people, proposed to them the annulling of the decree which proscribed Marius and his adherents: but Marius, impatient to shed the blood of his enemies, when only two or three tribes had voted, entered the city, surrounded by his guards, chosen from among the slaves who had flocked to him, and whom he called his *Bardiæans*ⁿ.

The first order he gave these cruel and inhuman assassins, was to murder all those who, meeting him in the streets, saluted him, and were not answered with the like civility. This signal was a general dead warrant, and great numbers of the flatterers, who came to make their court to the new tyrant, were cruelly massacred in his sight. Q. Ancharius, a senator of great distinction, who had been honoured with the prætorship, chose to pay his compliments to Marius, when he was offering a sacrifice in the Capitol; but the tyrant darting a fierce look upon him, he was instantly cut in pieces, in the very temple of

^m Diodor. apud. Valef.

ⁿ Plut. in Mario.

Jupiter. Cinna, for the present, exercised his cruelty only on his colleague Octavius, who still took upon him to perform the functions of his office, and was therefore, at the instigation of Cinna, slain in his curule chair by Censorinus. *The consul Octavius slain.*

Marius's Bardizæans, or Bardiates, set no bounds to their lust, cruelty, and avarice: they murdered their former masters, abused their children, and insulted their wives in the grossest manner; then they extended their cruelty and licentiousness to all ranks of persons, not sparing the most venerable matrons in the republic. They carried their iniquities to such an excess, that Cinna and Sertorius, having consulted how to rid Rome of this barbarous crew, resolved to put them all to death; and accordingly sent a detachment to surprise them one night, while they were asleep in the camp, and cut them off to a man. Marius was much grieved at the loss of his favourite guard; and being afraid that Cinna had already satisfied his revenge, he desired the heads of the faction to meet, in order to determine what kind of government they should settle, since all the power had devolved upon Cinna, after the death of his colleague. At his request, Cinna, Carbo, and Sertorius came to confer with him; and in this conference Marius is said to have spoken like a madman. Sertorius, being the only man present who possessed any generous principles, or sense of morality, endeavoured to moderate his fury; but in vain: Cinna and Carbo concurred in his sentiments, and the resolution they took was to murder, without mercy, all the senators who had opposed the popular faction. Pursuant to his resolution, C. Attilius Serranus, P. Lentulus, Caius and Lucius Cæsar, C. Numitorius, and M. Bæbius, all senators of eminence, were murdered in the streets. P. Crassus, a young senator, endeavoured to make his escape; but, being closely pursued by Caius Flavius Fimbria, one of the most furious zealots of Marius's party, his father, meeting him, killed him, for fear he should fall into the hands of his enemies, and then presented himself before the bloody Fimbria, by whom he was inhumanly butchered. This slaughter lasted five days, during which time most of the senators were cut off; their heads stuck upon poles over-against the rostra, and their mangled bodies dragged with hooks into the forum, where they were left to be devoured by the dogs. However, Metella, the wife of Sylla, and daughter of Metellus Numidicus, and her children, escaped this general slaughter. Marius, indeed, *Marius's guards cut in pieces by Cinna and Sertorius.*
Rome filled with blood and slaughter.

deed, caused strict search to be made after them; but they eluded the vigilance and fury of the tyrant, being privately conveyed out of town by some of Sylla's friends. Marius, exasperated at their escape, caused their house to be rased, their goods confiscated, and Sylla declared an enemy to his country.

While Marius thus vented his brutal rage on Sylla's friends in the city, his soldiers, the ministers of his cruelty, were dispersed about the country in search of those who had fled. The neighbouring towns, villages, and all the highways, swarmed with assassins. On this occasion Plutarch observes, with great concern, that the sacred ties of friendship and hospitality are not proof against treachery in the days of adversity; for there were but very few who did not discover their friends who had fled to them for shelter.

M. Antonius takes refuge in a friend's house;

Antonius, grandfather to the triumvir, and the greatest orator that had then appeared in Rome, felt the fury of Marius. He fled to the house of a friend in the country, who endeavoured to save his life with great tenderness and affection. His friend was in low circumstances, but being proud of having under his roof one of the greatest men in Rome, resolved to entertain him with the utmost hospitality. Accordingly he sent his servant to a tavern in the neighbourhood for some of the best wine. The vintner perceiving the servant nicer than usual, tasting several sorts, and not satisfied but with the best, asked what made it so difficult to please him. The servant told him, in confidence, as his trusty friend and acquaintance, that the wine was for the illustrious Marcus Antonius, who made so great a figure in the senate. "My master (said he) keeps that great man concealed in his house, and is resolved, on this occasion, to exert himself for his entertainment." The servant was no sooner gone, than the vintner went to Marius, who was then at supper, and told him, he could deliver Antonius into his hands. At these news Marius shouted, and clapped his hands for joy, and was for rising from table, and going to the place in person; but being prevented by his friends, he sent Anius, one of his wicked agents, attended by a body of soldiers, commanding him to bring Antonius's head with all speed. Anius himself waited at the door, and sent in his soldiers to dispatch the orator, and bring him his head; but the assassins, notwithstanding their natural barbarity, were

is betrayed and murdered.

so struck at the sight of this great man, and moved with the graces and charms of his elocution, when he began to speak and beg for his life, that tears dropped from their eyes, and none of them would offer him any violence. Anius, impatient at their delays, went into the room, where, seeing his soldiers all weeping, and quite softened by the eloquence of that great orator, he checked them severely. With his own hand he cut off his head, and carried it to Marius, who, after he had made it matter of sport to his guests, ordered it to be stuck on a pole with the rest before the rostra. Such was the end of the greatest orator Rome had ever bred. Cicero, who had often heard him, being at this time about twenty years old, calls him the wonder of his age, and adds, that to him it was owing, that Italy equalled Greece in the art of speaking ^P.

The rage of the other tyrants, after so many murders, began to abate; but Marius still thirsted after more Roman blood. He wanted to destroy two men who had been honoured with the fasces: these were Lutatius Catulus, who had been his colleague in the consulate, and his partner in the triumph over the Cimbri; and the virtuous Cornelius Merula, who had generously resigned the consular dignity to make room for Cinna. Great interest was made for Catulus; but to all those who interceded for him, Marius returned this cold answer, "He must die." In this extremity Catulus had recourse to poison. Merula likewise deprived his enemy of the cruel pleasure of putting him to death: as he was high-priest of Jupiter, he went to the temple of that god, laid down his mitre, in which it was not lawful to die; and then, seating himself in his pontifical chair, ordered his veins to be opened. After he had bled some time, he advanced to the altar, sprinkled it with blood, and, uttering many imprecations against the tyrants, devoted them to Pluto and the infernal gods ¹.

The consulate of Cinna being almost expired, the citizens, who had seen the streets for some time flowing with blood, and covered with heaps of dead bodies, hoped for some respite; but Cinna, unwilling to trust them with choosing him a successor, of his own authority nominated himself and Marius consuls for the next year. On the calends of January they took possession, one of his second, the other of his seventh consulship. Marius was seventy

Yr. of Fl.
2263.
Ante Chr.
85.
U. C. 663.

^P Plut. in Mario. Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. i. Cic. in Bruto, & alibi passim.
¹ Vell. Patern. lib. ii. cap. 22. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 21.

*Cinna
names him-
self and
Marius
consuls.*

years of age ; but neither his ambition nor his cruelty were yet satiated. As he was coming out of his house to be invested in his office, Sextus Licinius unhappily fell in his way, and was, by his order, immediately thrown down from the Tarpeian rock. The same day he proscribed two prætors ; and his son, no less cruel than himself, killed a tribune of the people with his own hand [†].

*Sylla
writes to
the senate.*

In the mean time news came from all parts, that Sylla, having ended the war with Mithridates, was returning into Italy at the head of a great army. The senators received a long letter from the victorious general, wherein he gave them an account of his victories, and complained of the injuries done him at Rome. After having enumerated the many services he had done the republic in her wars with the king of Numidia, with the Cimbri, the allies, and lastly with Mithridates, the most powerful king in the East, he concluded thus : " For these important services you have rewarded me, by setting a price upon my head ; my friends are murdered without mercy ; my wife and children are forced to abandon their native country ; my house is rased ; my goods confiscated ; and all the laws made in my consulship are absolutely repealed. You may expect, conscript fathers, to see me soon at the gates of Rome with a victorious army : then I shall find means to revenge the personal injuries I have received, and to inflict signal punishments both on the tyrants themselves, and the ministers of their tyranny." This letter greatly alarmed the two consuls. Marius, exhausted with hardships and years, could no longer support his spirits, flagging at the apprehension of a new war which his own experience represented to him as very dangerous. He considered, that he had not now to contend with an Octavius or Merula at the head of an undisciplined rabble, but with Sylla, who was approaching with a victorious army, and who had once before driven him out of Rome. He recollected his past misfortunes, his flight, his banishment, and the many dangers he had undergone : dreading to be exposed anew to the same hazards, in so advanced an age, he was overwhelmed with melancholy, and harassed with imaginary terrors, which haunted him in his sleep. He fancied every moment that he heard a voice, warning him, that the den, even of an absent lion, ought to be dreaded. To divert these tormenting ideas, he gave himself up to excessive drinking, choosing rather to lose

*Marius
dreads the
arrival of
Sylla.*

[†] Plut. Appian. *ibid.*

his reason than to be continually haunted with melancholy thoughts. This new mode of living soon bred a distemper which occasioned his death. Caius Piso relates, that Marius, walking one night after supper with some of his friends, entertained them with a recital of his adventures, which he concluded with saying, that it did not become a man of his years to trust any longer to inconstant a goddess as Fortune. Having ended his discourse, he embraced all about him with a tenderness very uncommon to him, went home, and was seized with a delirium, during which, fancying himself general in the war against Mithridates, he used such motions and gestures, as if he had been engaged in battle at the head of an army. At length, after seven days illness, he died, some say on the seventeenth, others on the thirteenth day of his seventh consulship.

He gives himself up to excessive drinking.

His death.

The distressed city fondly imagined, that the intestine calamities, which had reduced her to the last extremity, were buried with Marius; but she soon perceived, that she had only changed her tyrant. Cinna, the surviving consul, associated with himself in the government, though not in the office of consul, young Marius, who, as he inherited the cruelty of his father, put all the senators he could find in Rome, or its neighbourhood, to the sword. As all the power was lodged in the hands of Cinna and young Marius, they procured the consular dignity for Valerius Flaccus, a creature of old Marius. This man no sooner entered upon his office, than he passed a most unjust law in favour of the people, declaring all debtors free from their debts, upon paying to their creditors one-fourth of what they owed. Having, by this law, gained the affections of the indigent multitude, the new consul debated with Cinna and Marius, how they should prevent the return of Sylla, who had under his command a victorious and well-disciplined army. The expedient they agreed on, to disable that general from giving them any trouble or opposition, was to nominate a person to succeed him in the command of the army in the East, under pretence, that his authority was illegal, since he had been proscribed by a decree of the senate.

Valerius Flaccus consul in the room of Marius.

Pursuant to this scheme, the new consul, Valerius Flaccus, was appointed to command the Roman forces in the Levant, and make war with Mithridates: but as Valerius was no soldier, Cinna and Marius gave him for his counsellor and lieutenant C. Fulvius Fimbria, a senator, greatly esteemed by the troops for his valour. Fimbria, though

Valerius Flaccus appointed to command the forces of the republic.

entirely

entirely attached to the Marian faction, despised and hated Valerius: however, he prepared to attend him, in compliance with the orders of Cinna and Marius, who were absolute masters in Rome. A squadron of ships was sent with a considerable number of troops on board, with orders to land in one of the ports of Thessaly, and there wait for Valerius, who was to follow with the rest of the army. Sylla was, at that time, busy in re-establishing the tranquillity of Greece, after having defeated Archelaus and Taxiles, two of Mithridates' generals. The troops therefore that were to serve under Valerius, hearing of Sylla's victories, instead of waiting for their unexperienced commander, deserted all to a man, and joined the victorious proconsul, under whose conduct they promised themselves great booty and glory. When the account of this desertion arrived at Rome, it was resolved, that Valerius should embark with two legions, and sail directly for Asia, to carry on the war against Mithridates. However he did not leave Rome before December, towards the end of his consulship, which was no sooner expired, than Cinna, without assembling the comitia, declared himself consul the third time, and chose for his colleague Papirius Carbo, one of the most furious zealots in Rome for the Marian faction. The other chief dignities in the republic were all filled with men wholly devoted to the interest of the reigning tyrant; the face of the republic was entirely changed, and the ancient laws and institutions were quite abolished. All the friends of Sylla, whom the tyrants could get into their power, were inhumanly murdered, and their estates confiscated. Men of any honour or probity, were ashamed to live in a city, which was now become a nest of robbers and assassins; they therefore fled in crowds, and retired to Sylla, in Greece, imploring his protection. Sylla hastened to put an end to the war with Mithridates; which he had no sooner terminated than he resolved to return to Italy. Cinna, in order to establish himself more firmly in his usurped authority, married his daughter Cornelia to a young patrician, whose extraordinary talents were already admired in Rome. This was the famous Julius Cæsar, whose ambition proved more successful than that of his father-in-law. Sylla, before he left Asia, wrote a letter to the senate, couched in terms of temper and moderation; but when their deputies came to meet him at Dyrrachium, and entreat him not to carry his resentments so far as to produce a civil war, he spoke a very different language,

Cinna declares himself consul the third time with Papirius Carbo.

Cinna marries his daughter to Julius Cæsar.

The senate send deputies to Sylla.

language, telling them, that he was coming to Rome full of rage and revenge; and that all his enemies, if the Roman people consented to it, should perish, either by the sword, or the axes of the common executioners. Upon this declaration, the two consuls ordered Marius, and the other heads of the party, to raise forces, and recruit the legions. Several armies were levied with incredible expedition, the new citizens and allies readily concurring to support the cause of the consuls, which they looked upon as their own. A fleet was likewise brought from Sicily to guard the coasts of Italy. In a council of war, at which all the leading men of the party assisted, it was resolved, that one of the consuls should meet Sylla before he entered Italy, and carry the seat of the war into Dalmatia. This task Cinna took upon himself, and accordingly caused some of his forces to be immediately transported thither; but the rest of his soldiers refused to go on board, and began to mutiny. Cinna assembled his troops in order to appease them, when one of the lictors, who surrounded the consul as usual, struck a soldier who drew too near to the general. The soldier returned blow for blow, and called his comrades to his assistance. The legionaries, who were next to the consul, fell upon him sword in hand. Cinna fled; but a centurion, overtaking him, buried his sword in his body*.

Cinna killed by one of his soldiers.

Upon the death of Cinna, Carbo continued sole master of the administration, till the end of the year. His first care was, to bring back the troops which his colleague had sent into Dalmatia. He then ordered new levies to be made in all the cities of the allies, and in the Roman colonies, to keep Sylla out of Italy by force of arms. We are told, that the troops raised for this purpose amounted to two hundred thousand men: they were divided into several bodies, commanded by different generals; namely, L. Cornelius Scipio, and C. Junius Norbanus, whom Carbo had got chosen consuls, Appius Claudius, Sertorius, young Marius, Flavius Fimbria, the brother of that Fimbria who had killed himself in Asia, M. Marius, Albinovanus, and Lucius Brutus Damasippus. Sylla was preparing to embark at Dyrrhachium, now Durazzo, where he had ordered his fleet, consisting of a hundred and twenty sail, to assemble. When every thing was ready, he harangued his troops, and gave them by several hints to understand, that he was under some apprehen-

Several armies raised against Sylla.

* Liv. Appian, *ibid.* Auct. de Vir. Illustr.

son, lest they should disperse, and retire to their respective homes, as soon as they found themselves on their native shore. In order to remove this suspicion, the whole army voluntarily took a new oath, promising to support him to the last, and to commit no devastations in Italy, which might raise the country against him. They even offered him all the gold and silver they had got in the war with Mithridates: Sylla, thanking them for their generosity, declined their offer; and, being now assured of their fidelity and affection, he embarked and put to sea.

*Sylla lands
in Italy.*

He had a prosperous passage, and landed his troops, to the number of forty thousand men, at Brundisium and Tarentum, without meeting with any opposition. There the army rested a few days to refresh themselves after the fatigues of the sea, and then began their march cross Calabria and Apulia, in search of the enemy. On his march, he was joined by Metellus Pius, who, during the tyranny of old Marius, had fled into Liguria. Sylla, who had no other title but that of proconsul, received him as his colleague, and both advanced at the head of the army into Campania, keeping their troops under exact discipline. The consul Norbanus was encamped between Capua and Casilinum, in order to stop Sylla's march; which the proconsul no sooner understood, than he dispatched two of his officers to him with offers of a pacification. Whether he was really inclined to concord, or artfully dissembled the rage he concealed in his heart, is uncertain. His offers were, however, rejected, and his deputies grossly insulted; outrages which so incensed Sylla's troops, that they ran to arms without orders from their general, drew up in battalia, and went to insult Norbanus in his camp. An action ensued, in which the consul was defeated, and six thousand of his men were killed on the spot. The fame of this victory drew many of the contrary faction to Sylla's camp, and amongst the others Cethegus, Verres, and Piso, all men of great distinction, and hitherto furious zealots of the Marian faction. Verres, who was quaestor of the proconsul Carbo's army, brought with him his military chest; a present very acceptable to Sylla.

*The consul
Norbanus
defeated by
Sylla.*

*The consul
Scipio's
troops gain-
ed over by
Sylla.*

The consul Scipio drawing near, the proconsul's army was surrounded by the innumerable forces of the enemy. In this distress Sylla had recourse to his old artifice, of pretending to treat of peace; and sent deputies to the consul's camp to propose an accommodation, pretending that

* Plut. in Sylla.

he

he was much grieved at the calamities to which the republic must be exposed by a civil war. Scipio, who was sincerely disposed to peace, hearkened to the overtures that were made him, and, by way of preliminary, agreed to a truce; during which, there being a free intercourse between the two camps, Sylla's troops found means to seduce the whole consular army; insomuch that, when Sylla detached twenty cohorts, in appearance to force the consul's trenches, the consular troops, all to a man, came out to meet them, and marched back with them to Sylla's camp. The consul and his son, being deserted by their whole army, which consisted of forty cohorts, were seized by Sylla's soldiers, who delivered them up to their general; but he, being under no apprehensions from commanders, who could be so easily over-reached, set them both at liberty, and appointed a guard to conduct them safe to the nearest quarters of their friends. When news of this general desertion were brought to Carbo, who was then encamped in Cisalpine Gaul, he exclaimed in great surprize, "We have both a fox and a lion to deal with; but the fox is more formidable than the lion."

The news of the great advantages Sylla was daily gaining over the generals of the adverse party, prompted young Pompey to declare for him. He assembled troops in Picenum, where his family had a great many friends and clients; and, taking upon him the title of general, though he was then but twenty-three years of age, obliged most of the towns of that district to declare for Sylla. The small army he commanded increased so fast, that, in a short time, he had men enough to form three legions; and at the head of these, after he had appointed them their tribunes and centurions, he advanced towards Campania to join Sylla. The march of the brave youth, which was signalized by the reduction of many cities, drew upon him three generals, who commanded armies in that neighbourhood, under the consuls. Carinas, Cœlius, and Brutus agreed to obstruct his march, by attacking him in different places. Brutus opposed him with a considerable army, consisting chiefly of Gaulish horse; but Pompey, at the head of his cavalry, defeated that of the Gauls, after having killed, with his own hand, the officer who commanded them. He then fell sword in hand on Brutus's infantry, cut most of them in pieces, and forced the rest to save themselves by a disorderly flight. This success,

Pompey declares for Sylla, and raises three legions.

His first victory.

» Plut. Appian. *ibid.*

T 2.

which

*The consul
Scipio's
troops join
him.*

*Sylla ho-
nours him
with the
title of im-
perator.*

*He is de-
clared an
enemy to
his country.*

*The Sam-
nites join
Marius.*

Yr. of Fl.
2267.
Ante Chr.
81.

U. C. 667.

*Carbo and
Marius
consuls.*

which was chiefly owing to young Pompey's personal bravery, so damped the courage of the two other generals, that they resolved to quit the field, and leave the country open to the conqueror. However, he had not advanced far before he was met by the consul Scipio, who, since the desertion of his troops, had raised a new army; but the infantry on both sides were no sooner in fight, than the consul's troops went over to the young hero; so that Scipio, deserted a second time by his army, was forced to retire with shame. Pompey's name being now become formidable to the adverse party, Papirius Carbo, quitting Gaul, hastened after him, in order to prevent his joining Sylla. His cavalry came up with him at the river *Æsis*, which divides Picenum and Umbria; but the young general having repulsed them with great vigour, pursued his march, and at last reached Sylla's camp, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of esteem and sincere friendship. Sylla, charmed with the account of his exploits, honoured him, though he had not yet a seat in the senate, with the title of imperator, which the legionaries gave but rarely to their bravest generals.

Rome being alarmed at the increase of Sylla's army, the two consuls as well as Carbo drew near it, in order to support their party there, and defend the city in case of an attack. Norbanus encamped without the walls on the road to Campania; and Carbo entering Rome at the head of his army, forced the senate to declare Metellus, Pompey, and all the patricians, who had joined Sylla, enemies to their country. The rest of the campaign was employed on both sides in private negotiations, each party endeavouring to corrupt the allies of the other. Sylla, a great master in that art, sent considerable sums into Cisalpine Gaul, by which means he gained over several Gaulish nations to his interest. The opposite faction sent Sertorius into Spain, to keep those provinces in awe, and prevent them from declaring for Sylla. At the same time Marius prevailed on the Samnites to join him with an army of forty thousand men, under the command of Pontius Telesinus, an able commander, who had gained great reputation in the war of the confederates.

The consular year now drawing to a close, Carbo, who tyrannized at Rome without controul, forced the tribes to choose himself and Marius consuls for the next year. As the winter, which was very severe, suspended hostilities

* Plut. in Pomp.

² Appian. Liv. Plut. ibid.

on both sides, the consuls made it their whole business to raise money for the support of the troops which they had levied in the provinces of Italy. The public treasury being exhausted, they extorted a decree from the senate, empowering them to strip the temples of their ornaments, and turn all the gold and silver they found into money. The consuls being now enabled to pay their troops, and the rigour of the season being abated, their armies took the field, and went in quest of the enemy. The first battle was fought on the banks of the *Æfis*, between *Carinas*, for the consuls, and *Metellus Pius*, who was immoveably attached to *Sylla*. The action proved bloody, and lasted from morning to night. *Metellus* at length obliged *Carinas* to retire, and soon after made himself master of his camp. The news of this defeat exasperated *Marius* to such a degree against *Sylla* and his adherents, that he sent orders to *Junius Brutus*, then prætor in Rome, to put all *Sylla's* friends in the city to death. This order was executed with the utmost cruelty; not one of those, whom the inhuman prætor could get into his power, was spared. Among the slain were *Papirius Carbo*, the consul's brother, *P. Anicius*, father-in-law to *Pompey*, *L. Domitius*, and the great *Mutius Scævola*, pontifex maximus: the latter took refuge in the temple of *Vesta*; but the prætor's agents followed him thither, and murdered him at the foot of the altar.

*Carinas
defeated by
Metellus.*

*Cruelty of
Marius.*

The account *Sylla* received of these cruelties made him resolve to quit *Campania*, and draw near to Rome. Accordingly he advanced to a place called *Sacri Portus*, between *Signia* and *Præneste*, where he was met by *Marius*, at the head of eighty-five cohorts. *Sylla* resolved, contrary to the advice of all his officers, to venture an engagement, being encouraged by a dream, in which, the night before, he imagined he saw old *Marius* advising his son to beware of the following day, which might be of fatal consequence to him. Both armies engaged with great intrepidity, and fought with unparalleled bravery. The success was long doubtful; but at length *Marius's* right wing gave way, and the dispute was ended by the desertion of seven of his cohorts, who in a body went over to *Sylla*. Their example drew many others; a defection which struck the consular army with such terror, that they fled with precipitation, and dispersed about

*Marius de-
feated by
Sylla.*

† Appian. *ibid.* Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 26. Cic. ad Fann. ix. 21. & ad Att. viii. 3.

*Flies to
Præneste.*

the fields. The conqueror pursued them, and made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives. The vanquished, seeing themselves closely pursued, fled to Præneste in such numbers, that the inhabitants were forced to shut the gates before the consul arrived; so that he was drawn up with a cord, and by that expedient escaped for the present the fury of his pursuers. All the rest, who were left without the walls, perished by the swords of the enemy. Sylla, as quoted by Plutarch, relates in his memoirs, that on this occasion twenty thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot, and eight thousand taken prisoners; whereas he lost in all but twenty-three men^a.

*Præneste
invested.*

Sylla, flattering himself that he should end the war by taking Marius, instantly invested Præneste: but as the place was too strong to be taken by assault, he resolved to reduce it by famine; with this view he surrounded it with a broad and deep ditch, placing guards at proper distances to prevent the introduction of any provisions. He committed the care of the blockade to Lucretius Ofella, a soldier of fortune, whom he had lately gained over from Marius's party. As for himself, he marched with a strong detachment towards Rome, which, he was informed, the friends of Marius had abandoned upon the news of his defeat. The citizens, oppressed with famine, and all the calamities that attend a civil war, opened the gates to him; so that he entered the city without opposition, and encamped in the Campus Martius. Being master of Rome, he assembled the people, complained to them of the injustice done him by his enemies, confiscated the estates of all those who adhered to Marius, promoted his friends to the offices he found vacant by the flight of those who had opposed him, and then, without staining his first coming to the capital with any acts of cruelty, returned to his camp before Præneste^a.

*Advant-
ages gained
by Sylla
and his ge-
nerals.*

Carbo having raised a numerous army in Cisalpine Gaul and Hetruria, drew near to Præneste, with a design to throw succours into the place; but Sylla meeting him, a bloody action ensued, which lasted from sun-rising to sun-set, without any advantage on either side. During the engagement, Marcus Censorinus, one of Carbo's generals, at the head of eight legions, attempted to force the enemy's trenches in another quarter; but he was repulsed by Pompey and Crassus. A few days after this action, these two generals were attended with equal success against C.

^a Plut. in Sylla.

^a Idem ibid.

Albinus Carinas, whom they defeated, after having killed five thousand of his men. Sylla's other generals gained great advantages in several parts of Italy. The two Servilii defeated the consular troops near Clusium; Marcus Lucullus defeated another army near Fidentia; and Metellus gained a signal victory over the united forces of Carbo and Norbanus in the neighbourhood of Faventia: ten thousand of them were cut in pieces, and six thousand went over to Metellus. Upon the news of this defeat a legion, which lay at some distance from Metellus's camp, under the command of Albinovanus, immediately forsook him, and joined Metellus. Albinovanus, thinking himself no longer safe in the party he had embraced, abandoned it in so criminal a manner, as has rendered his name infamous. He invited Norbanus, his general, C. Apustius, Flavius Fimbria, and most of the chief officers of his party, to an entertainment. Norbanus was prevented, by an unforeseen accident, from complying with the invitation; the rest, when they were in the height of their jollity and mirth, were barbarously massacred by a band of assassins, whom the traitor had hired for that purpose. Albinovanus, thinking himself sufficiently recommended to Sylla by this act of treachery, withdrew to his camp with all the accomplices of his crime: Norbanus, not knowing whom to trust, went on board a vessel which he found ready to set sail for Rhodes, and arrived safe in that Island. Sylla sent immediately to demand him of the Rhodians; but while they were deliberating how to behave in so nice an affair, Norbanus prevented their coming to a determination, by stabbing himself in the middle of the market-place^b.

The treachery of Albinovanus.

Norbanus flies to Rhodes, where he kills himself.

Carbo, after having attempted several times to relieve his colleague Marius, who was closely besieged in Praeneste, retired into Hetruria to reinforce his army there with new levies. While he was encamped near Clusium, news were brought him, that M. Lucullus had, with sixteen cohorts, defeated fifty cohorts of his best troops, under the command of Quinctius, in the neighbourhood of Placentia, killed eighteen thousand of them, and taken their camp. This misfortune struck Carbo with such terror, that despairing of success in Italy, he withdrew privately from his army, though it was thirty thousand strong, and with a few friends embarked for Africa, to carry on the war in that country. Upon the news of his flight,

Carbo retires to Africa.

^b Plut. in Sylla, Appian, de Bell. Civil. lib. i. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii.

Pompey and the Servillii hastened to attack the army he had left in the neighbourhood of Clusium, which, as it was destitute of a general, made but a faint resistance; twenty thousand men were killed on the spot, and the rest either taken or dispersed. One of the three chief supporters of the Marian faction being dead, another fled, and the third ready to perish with want in an invested town, without any hopes of escaping, Sylla began to think the war at an end; but a new enemy, more brave and resolute than any Sylla had yet encountered, declared against the conqueror, and acted with such spirit as even to endanger the safety of Rome. This was Pontius Telesinus, a Samnite, of noble extraction, and great experience in war; who having raised an army of forty thousand men, partly Lucanians and partly Samnites, joined them to those of Carinas, Brutus, and Censorinus; and with these three chiefs advanced boldly to make a last effort, and either relieve Marius in Præneste, or perish in the attempt. Sylla being informed of their motions, advanced to meet them at the head of his victorious army, and, at the same time, sent orders to Pompey, who commanded another body, to follow Telesinus, and fall on his rear, while he attacked him in front.

*Telesinus,
the Samnite,
joins
the Marian
faction.*

The Samnite, finding himself surrounded by two armies, so that he could neither advance nor retire without being attacked by both at the same time, decamped silently in the night, and instead of pursuing his march to Præneste, took the route to Rome, which he knew was not in a condition to sustain a siege. His march was so expeditious, that before break of day, he came within ten furlongs of the Collatine gate. His approach threw the city into the utmost confusion. The gates were immediately shut; the men ran to arms, and appeared on the walls; the women, all in tears, crowded to the temples to implore the assistance of the gods. Telesinus, like a second Hannibal, at the gates of Rome, already thought himself master of it: he then pulled off the mask, and shewing himself as much an enemy to Marius as to Sylla, declared to his troops, who were mostly Samnites and Lucanians, that his design was not to assist one Roman against another, but to extirpate, if possible, the whole nation, utterly destroy the proud city, and bury its inhabitants under the ruins. Telesinus walked through the lines and ranks of his army, encouraging his men to embrace the opportunity which offered of humbling the proud republic, and depriving her of the power of attempting to tyrannize

*Over-
reaches.
Sylla and
Pompey,
and
marches to
Rome.*

tyrannize over the rest of Italy. "Let fire and sword (said he) destroy all; let no quarter be given; mankind can never be free so long as one Roman is left alive." His troops, fired with such a speech, advanced with great fury.

*He repulses
the Romans.*

The Roman youth marched out to oppose them, under the conduct of Appius Claudius, a young patrician of noble extraction, and great hopes; but he was killed, and the rest forced back into the city with great slaughter. Sylla receiving intelligence of the enemy's march, detached seven hundred horse, under the command of Balbus, with orders to ride full gallop to Rome, and throw themselves into the city, while he advanced with the utmost expedition, at the head of all the infantry of his army. The arrival of Balbus raised the drooping spirits of the citizens, who had given themselves up for lost; but the sudden appearance of Sylla at the head of his army occasioned such joy among all ranks of men, as can hardly be expressed. He arrived about noon, and encamped near the temple of Venus. After he had allowed his soldiers a few minutes to refresh themselves, he called them again to arms, and formed them in order of battle. Dolabella and Torquatus, two of his lieutenants, endeavoured to dissuade him from exposing his troops, harassed as they were, to a desperate push, when all lay at stake. They remonstrated, that he had not a Marius or a Carbo to deal with, but an experienced general, at the head of the Lucanians and Samnites, two of the most warlike nations in Italy, and the most inveterate enemies of the Roman name. Sylla, without hearkening to their remonstrances, ordered the trumpets to sound the charge, and began the attack. The fight was the sharpest and most bloody that had happened during the whole course of the war. The Samnites, animated by the example of the brave Telestinus, behaved with their usual valour, and put the left wing of the Romans, where Sylla commanded, into great confusion. Several cohorts fled, and entire legions, not able to keep their ground against the Samnites, who pushed them with incredible vigour, began to retire.

*Sylla hastens to the
relief of
the city.*

*Engages
Telestinus.*

*Sylla's left
wing de-
feated.*

Sylla exerted himself to rally, and bring them back to the charge. He even presented himself, sword in hand, before the runaways, to stop their flight: but the legionaries, who had behaved so gallantly in Asia, without any regard to the command or danger of their general, thought only of saving themselves by a shameful flight; some of them hastening back to their camp, and others striving to get into

*Sylla in
great
danger.*

into the city. The Samnites made a dreadful havock of the fugitives, and Sylla narrowly escaped death. As he was flying from line to line, mounted on a white courser, two Samnites, knowing him by his equipage, levelled their javelins at him. One of his attendants perceiving their aim, lashed his horse, which, springing forwards, removed so seasonably, that the javelins just grazed upon his tail, and stuck deep into the ground at some distance from him. In this imminent danger Sylla took out of his bosom a little golden image of Apollo, which he brought from Delphi, and constantly carried about him in all engagements; and as danger and fear usually awaken religious sentiments, he addressed himself to it in the following words: "Great Apollo, the Pythian, thou who hast granted Cornelius Sylla victory in so many engagements, and raised him to the highest pitch of glory, hast thou at last brought him to the very gates of his native city, to fall there ignominiously with his fellow-citizens?" He then endeavoured again to rally the fugitives. Some of them he threatened, others he conjured only to face about, and look on the enemy. When he found all was to no purpose, and the left wing entirely broken and put to flight, he had no resource but in a retreat; and accordingly endeavoured with the rest to gain the camp, after having lost a great number of his friends, and some of the most considerable officers of the army. Many of the citizens, whose curiosity had led them to be spectators of the engagement, were trod under foot by the enemy's horse; others were shut out and left at the mercy of the victorious Samnites, and some, among whom were several senators, stifled in the crowd. A great many of the fugitives retired to the camp before Præneste, which they filled with terror, reporting that Sylla was killed, his army cut in pieces, and Rome in the hands of the Samnites.

*Sylla forced
to fly his
camp.*

*The Sam-
nite army
defeated by
Crassus.*

In the mean time M. Crassus, who commanded the right wing of the Roman army, having put to flight Carinas, who commanded the enemy's left, fell unexpectedly upon the victorious Samnites, charged them with unparalleled bravery, and, by putting them to flight, saved Rome from undergoing the fate of Carthage and Corinth. The Samnites fled to Antemnae, whither Crassus pursued them, and from thence sent an express to acquaint Sylla with his victory. In this engagement Telephus was

• Plut & Appian. *ibid.*

killed

killed at the head of his troops, after having given such proofs of valour as entitled him to a place among the greatest heroes of antiquity. Carinas, Brutus, and Censorinus were taken prisoners, and soon after beheaded by Sylla's orders ⁴. *Telefinus is killed.*

That general hastened to Antemnæ, and there he gave the first instances of his cruel and barbarous temper; for as he approached the place, three thousand of those unhappy people, who had taken shelter there, having sent deputies to him, entreating him to spare their lives, and promising him an inviolable fidelity; the cruel general answered, that he would spare their lives, provided they put such of their comrades to death as refused to join them. Upon this intimation they killed a great number of their fellow-soldiers, and then presented themselves before Sylla without arms, and in the posture of suppliants. He pretended to pardon them, and carried both those who had surrendered, and the rest, to the number of six, or, as Appian will have it, eight thousand men, to Rome, which he entered amidst the acclamations of the people. Upon his arrival, he caused those unfortunate persons to be shut up in the circus; and then summoned the senate to meet in the temple of Bellona, which stood near the circus. When the fathers were met, he began to harangue them; but while they were hearkening with great attention to his speech, his troops, pursuant to their orders, entered the circus, and fell sword in hand on the unfortunate prisoners. The cries and groans of so many men butchered in so narrow a place, alarmed the senators, who were not acquainted with his orders, and filled them with terror. Sylla, with great composure in his countenance, addressing himself to the senators, "Attend (said he), to what I am saying, and do not be alarmed at what is doing without doors: the noise you hear is occasioned by some offenders, whom I have ordered to be chastised." He then continued his discourse with great calmness, telling the fathers, that he designed to settle the republic upon the same footing on which it stood in the best of times. But when the senators were informed of the massacre in the circus, they plainly saw that they had only changed their tyrant, which was to them matter of no less surprize than grief and terror; for in Sylla the nobility had hoped to find a

Sylla's cruelty.

Prisoners massacred.

⁴ Plut. & Appian. *ibid.* Vell. lib. ii. cap. 27. Strabo, lib. v. p. 249.

friend,

friend, and the people a protector. He had been from his youth inclined to mirth, and was not only of a jovial, but of so compassionate a temper, that he had been often seen to weep on very slight occasions; but the change of fortune introduced a change of nature, and begot pride, arrogance, inhumanity, and all those vices which attend an uncontrolled power and authority °.

*Præneste
surrenders.*

*Marius
killed.*

*Sylla's
cruelty to
the Præ-
nestines.*

The inhabitants and garrison of Præneste no sooner heard of the defeat of Telestinus, than they delivered up the city to Ofella. Marius endeavoured to make his escape through some subterraneous passages; but finding them all guarded, where they opened into the country, by Sylla's soldiers, he laid violent hands on himself, as some writers tell us, to avoid falling into the power of his enemies. Others say, that Pontius Telestinus, brother to him who commanded the Samnite army, and the young consul, engaged in single combat, with a design to kill each other; and that Pontius falling first, Marius ordered a slave to kill him. His head was brought to Sylla, who looking upon it with an air of arrogance and contempt, "What did this rash boy mean (said he), in pretending to govern the rudder, before he had learnt to handle the oar?" His head was afterwards, by Sylla's order, exposed in the forum, to inspire terror. All the Samnites and Prænestines, able to bear arms, were put to the sword, and the city plundered; so that, from being one of the most populous and rich cities of Italy, it became the most poor and desolate. Plutarch tells us, that Sylla, upon the news of the surrender of Præneste, hastened thither, in order to bring the inhabitants and Samnite prisoners to a formal trial, that he might put them to death with some shew of justice. But finding this a work of too much time, he ordered them all, to the number of twelve thousand men, to be cooped up close in one place, and gave a general order for their execution. They were all inhumanly massacred in the presence of the tyrant, who beheld that cruel butchery, and heard the cries and groans of those unfortunate men, with as much calmness and unconcern as if he had been assisting at a public show. He excepted one out of the number, because he had formerly entertained him in his house. But the generous Prænestine rejected the offer with the utmost indignation: "I scorn (said he), to owe my life to the butcher of my country." This said, he

• Plut. Appian. &c. *ibid.*

ruined among his fellow-citizens, and perished in the general slaughter. About the same time Norba, a city of Campania, being, after a long siege, reduced to extremity by *Norba taken.* *Emilius Lepidus*, one of *Sylla's* generals; the inhabitants, dreading the fate of the *Prænestines*, set fire to their houses, and perished, with all their effects in the flames.

The reduction of *Præneste* and *Norba* put an end to the civil war in Italy. *Sylla*, therefore, having placed in all the Italian provinces such governors as were entirely at his devotion, and pitched several little camps in different districts, to keep the country in awe, returned to Rome, which he entered at the head of his troops. The same day he assembled the people in the comitium; and told them with a haughty air, that he had conquered; but that those, who had made him take arms against his country, should expiate the blood they made him shed, with their own. "I will not spare one (said he), who has borne arms against me. They shall all perish." These words, from a man who was absolute master of their lives and fortunes, made the most resolute tremble. They filled the city with dread and horror; and the consternation was doubled the next day, when they saw fixed up in all public places a list of proscribed persons, containing the names of forty senators, and sixteen hundred knights. If any man gave shelter to a person proscribed, though his son, his brother, or his father, death was the reward of his humanity; whereas the assassin was recompensed with two talents, though a slave had murdered his master, or a son his father. The children and grandchildren of those he proscribed, were declared infamous, and their estates confiscated. The tyrant chose such agents to execute his decrees, as had even less pity than himself. The chief of those was the infamous *Catiline*. That profligate wretch, though very young, had some time before killed his brother; and now, to justify his crime, he prevailed upon *Sylla* to insert his brother's name among the proscribed. This favour so attached him to the tyrant, that he became the chief instrument of all his cruelties. At the head of a band of assassins he scoured the streets, and killed many knights and senators before they knew they were proscribed. The persons named in the list were sought for in their own houses, in

His speech to the people in the comitium.

His proscriptions.

Catiline the minister of his cruelties.

Plutarch. Appian. ibid. Diodorus Sicul. in Excerpt. Liv. Epit.

the.

the porticos, and even in the temples; whence they were dragged to Sylla, and cruelly butchered in his presence.

*Metellus's
courage.*

The massacre was not confined to those named in the list. Sylla extended his revenge to all who had borne arms against him, of what rank soever, or condition; his cruel agents taking this opportunity to gratify their private revenge and avarice, confounding the most innocent and peaceable with the most guilty, out of some private grudge, or for the sake of their wealth. The slaughter was so dreadful, that Sylla was reproached with it even by his best friends. Among others a young senator, named Caius Metellus, ventured one day to ask him in full senate, when he designed to put a stop to the calamities of his fellow-citizens. "We do not (said he), intercede for such as you have resolved to destroy; but only desire you to free those from their uneasiness whom you have determined to save." Sylla, without seeming to take this bold speech amiss, answered coolly, that he knew not yet whom he should save. "Name to us then (replied Metellus), those you have determined to destroy." "That I will do," answered Sylla very smartly; and he immediately caused a new list to be fixed up of eighty citizens, whom he proscribed, most of them senators, and persons of great distinction. Next day he proscribed two hundred and twenty more, and an equal number the third. Among these were Carbo, Scipio, Sertorius, and Marcus Marius; the three former were out of the tyrant's reach; but the latter, who was nearly related to the great Marius, and favoured by the people, was seized by Catiline, and put to death, after having suffered the most exquisite torments: he was scourged through all the streets of Rome, and, after this ignominious punishment, carried beyond the Tiber, where by Sylla's barbarous agents his eyes were put out, his hands and ears cut off, all his joints dislocated, and his bones broken. Valerius Maximus tells us, that Marcus Platorius, being moved at such an affecting sight, could not help pitying the unfortunate young man; an instance of humanity which so offended Sylla, that he ordered him to be killed upon the spot (U). After nine thousand

*M. Marius
put to
death.*

(U) Marius had scarce expired in his torments, when Catiline cut off his head, and carrying it as a trophy in the forum, presented it to Sylla, while he was haranguing the people. The tyrant received the shocking present, and beheld it without the least concern. As for Catiline, his hands

thousand senators, knights, and citizens, had been inhumanly murdered by Sylla's agents, he assembled the people, and told them, that he had proscribed as many as he could think of at present; and as for those he had forgot, they should be proscribed too, as soon as he could recall them to his memory.

From Rome Sylla extended his cruelties to the neighbouring cities that had declared against him, and used them without mercy. Some were dismantled, others oppressed with heavy taxes, and immense sums raised upon the inhabitants. All the effects of the inhabitants of Florentia, Spoletum, Interamna, and Sulmona, were confiscated, and sold to the best bidder; some cities were entirely demolished, and the citizens all to a man proscribed. The allies as well as the Romans submitted, without resistance, to the tyrannical yoke.

The neighbouring cities oppressed by Sylla.

While Italy thus groaned under the oppression of the tyrant, Pompey was employed against his enemies in Sicily, which was governed by Perpenna, Carbo's friend, a man attached to the Marian faction; but upon Pompey's landing, he abandoned the island, and retired to Carbo, then in Africa. The Sicilians no sooner heard of his flight, than they came in crowds from all parts of the island, to make their submissions to Pompey. Catania was the only city that seemed determined not to submit. Pompey, having begged of the inhabitants as a favour, to admit into their city his sick men, and they complying with his request, he sent the flower of his troops, and by that stratagem made himself master of the place. Carbo, not thinking himself safe in Africa, retired to the island of Cossura, between Sicily and Africa, with a design to pass from thence into Egypt. Pompey, being acquainted with his design, sent a squadron of galleys to invest the island, ordering his officers to seize Carbo, and all the outlaws, who attended him, and bring them to Sicily. Carbo, finding he could not escape, surrendered himself

Sicily submits to Pompey.

Plut. Appian. *ibid.* Flor. lib. iii. cap. 21. Seneca de Ira. Phil. lib. xxxiv. Oros. lib. viii. Val. Max. lib. ix. cap. 2.

hands being daubed with the blood he had shed, he went and washed them in the holy or lustral water, placed at the gate of Apollo's temple (1):

for the heathens had vessels placed at the gates of their temples filled with water, which they called lustral or holy.

(1) Plut. in Sylla.

Carbo taken, and put to death by Pompey.

to the commander of the Squadron. He had formerly saved Pompey's estate, which the tribunes were for confiscating, on his father's being convicted of having embezzled the public money. If he had any dependence on the gratitude of Pompey, he was disappointed. This young Roman insulted him personally, and then caused him to be executed: and, indeed, such a monster of brutality deserved no compassion; though Pompey ought not to have been his judge. It must be owned, at the same time, that he suffered the greater part of those Romans who were taken with Carbo, to make their escape; an instance of lenity which, with his prudent and mild conduct towards the Sicilians, gained him the affections of the people. Upon his threatening to punish the inhabitants of Himera with great severity, for having been more sanguine than the rest of the Sicilians in the cause of Marius and Carbo, Sthenis, their chief magistrate, told him, that he was the man who had excited his fellow-citizens against Sylla; and therefore he alone ought to be punished. Pompey was so struck with this generous freedom, that he not only pardoned him, and for his sake the city, but received him into his friendship. As his soldiers put many of the Sicilians to death without his orders, he caused their swords to be sealed up in their scabbards, and punished those whose seals were found broken. By these acts of clemency towards the Sicilians, he wiped off the reproach of inhumanity and ingratitude, which he had brought on himself by the death of Carbo^b.

Pompey regains the hearts of the Sicilians.

L. Valerius Flaccus declared interrex.

Sylla, being absolute master of Rome, and all the countries subject to the republic, except Spain, resolved to leave the senate and people a shadow at least of their former liberty. To this end he retired into the country for some days, desiring the fathers to choose one of their own body in his absence to govern the commonwealth, which, since the death of the consuls, had no legal magistrate. The fathers created L. Valerius Flaccus interrex: he was president of the senate, and wholly devoted to Sylla's interest; and this appointment gave him an opportunity of bringing the senate to execute the scheme he had formed. He wrote to Valerius, desiring him to declare to the senate and people, that since affairs were yet unsettled, he was of opinion, that a dictator should be created, not for any limited time, but till all evils and grievances were re-

^b Plut. in Pomp. Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 3, 5, & 6. cap. 2, 2. Diodor. apud Vales. Liv. Epit.

dressed.

dressed. In his letter he intimated that, at the request of the senate, he would accept of the employment. This proposal, which tended to the establishment of regal authority in Rome, surprised the senators; but the remembrance of so many proscriptions and assassinations chilled every heart; and the law passing without opposition, Sylla was declared dictator without any limitation of time. Thus the Romans, after many ages, fell again under the absolute power of one man; an event which proved a fatal blow to the republican government, and paved the way to absolute monarchy. As flattery is the usual consequence of slavery, the people, formerly so jealous of their liberty, worshipped the idol they had set up, erecting to their tyrant an equestrian statue of brass in that very comitium where they had seen the heads of so many illustrious citizens exposed to public view.

Yr. of Pl.
268.
Ante Chr.
80.
U. C. 668.

Sylla perpetual dictator.

C H A P. XLV.

The History of Rome, from the perpetual Dictatorship of Sylla, to the Triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.

SYLLA, now perpetual dictator, undertook the reformation of the government, being assisted by L. Valerius Flaccus, whom he had appointed his general of the horse. The first law he enacted related to the election of the chief magistrates, and imported, that no man should stand for the prætorship till he had been quæstor, nor be elected consul till he had been prætor. This was no more than the revival of an ancient custom. Notwithstanding this law, Lucretius Ofella, who had carried on the siege of Præneste, presuming on that merit, appeared among the candidates for the consulship, though he had not yet borne any office in the republic. Sylla mentioned the law he had just enacted; but the bold candidate, presuming too much on his past services, and the favour of the people, continued to solicit their suffrages; and this conduct so provoked the dictator, who saw him from his tribunal, that he dispatched a centurion, with orders to cut off his head. This execution raised the indignation of the assembly; but Sylla made them thorough-

The dictator's law relating to the election of the chief magistrates.

*Sylla makes
several
good laws.*

ly sensible, that they were no longer a free people, by a low, but expressive fable: "A ploughman (said he) being tormented with vermin, pulled off his cloaths, and cleaned them. While he was busy at his work, they began to molest him anew, and the ploughman killed a far greater number of them the second time than he had done the first. They returned to disturb him a third time; and then the poor labourer, out of all patience, threw his cloaths into the fire; and got rid of them all at once. This fable you may apply to yourselves. Your seditions have hitherto cost you little blood. Take care that the case of the vermin be not one day your own!" This fable made the whole assembly tremble; the tumult was immediately appeased, and the election of the consuls made agreeable to the dictator's will. The persons chosen were M. Tullius Decula and Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, two of the chief officers of Sylla's army. They both set out for the provinces allotted them, the former for Gaul, and the latter for Macedon, leaving Sylla to reign alone in the capital, where he made several laws, which were all, except that relating to proscriptions, allowed to be equitable and judicious. That law ordained, that those who escaped death after their proscription should be killed wherever they were found; that those who concealed them, should be liable to the same punishment; that their effects should be sold to the best bidder; and that their children should be incapable of holding any of the great employments of the republic. By another law, he greatly weakened the authority of the tribunes of the people; for it enacted, that no tribune should be allowed to speak in the assembly of the people for or against any law in agitation; that only senators should be chosen tribunes; and that those who had borne this office should be for ever excluded from the superior offices. This regulation made the ambitious disdain seats in a college, beyond which they could not rise: but the tribunes soon recovered their old power, and held it till the time of the emperors, who left them only the name and shadow of magistrates. The pontifices, augurs, and decemvirs, appointed to keep and explain the Sibylline books, were, by another law, reinstated into their former honours, and empowered to fill up the vacancies in their respective bodies; a prerogative as old as their institution, which had been transferred from them to the people, when the plebeian fac-

¹ Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. i.

tion prevailed. To each of these colleges he added five new members; so that they were no longer called decemvirs, but quindecimvirs, their number being increased from ten to fifteen. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus having been burnt two years before, and the Sibylline books there lodged destroyed in the flames, Sylla charged the quindecimvirs to repair that loss, by searching for copies, or at least fragments of them, in the cities of Erythræa, Samos, and Ilium. Out of this collection they formed a new book, which was indeed larger, but not so authentic, as the originals that had been kept at Rome ever since the time of Tarquin the Proud^k. Sylla had the mortification to see some of his laws abrogated before he died; but the greatest part continued in force, and are parts of the Roman law.

Sylla, ruling in Rome without controul, under pretence of supplying the places of the many Roman citizens who had perished in the civil wars, gave liberty, and the right of Roman citizenship, to ten thousand slaves, whom, from his own name, he called Cornelians: he also rewarded his legionaries, who had served under him in the Levant, and in Italy, bestowing upon them the lands of the municipia and colonies, which had declared against him. Thus, surrounded by a guard of freedmen in Rome, and supported by his old legionaries in the country, he had nothing to fear, either from revolts in the city, or insurrections among the allies. As all was quiet in the capital, Sylla thought this a proper time to decree himself a triumph for his conquests in Asia, Greece, and Pontus. Rome had not, for a long time, seen one so magnificent. It lasted two days, on the first of which were carried before the triumphant victor fifteen thousand pounds weight of gold, and a hundred and fifteen thousand pounds weight of silver, which he had brought from Greece and Asia; and, on the second, thirteen thousand pounds weight of gold, and seven thousand pounds weight of silver, which young Marius had saved out of the fire of the Capitol, and Sylla had recovered at Præneste after his death. When the procession was over, the conqueror mounting the rostra according to custom, gave the people a pompous detail of his exploits. As he ascribed all his successes to Fortune, he ordered that no other title should be given him than that of the Fortu-

*Sylla's tri-
umph.*

^k Appian. *ibid.* Pomponius de Orig. Juris Tacit. *Annal.* lib. xi. Cic. de Legib. lib. iii. Ulpian. Digest.

nate; a title, in which he gloried as much as other heroes had done in appellations taken from the countries which they had subdued¹. His triumph was succeeded by the most pompous games that had ever been seen in Rome. We are told, that in the Olympic games, which were celebrated this year, only the races could be performed, the most skilful actors of Greece having left their own country, to display their art in the capital of the world^m.

*Pompey's
successful
expedition
in Africa.*

In the mean time, the Marian faction began to revive in Africa. Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, nephew to the great Marius, had raised there twenty thousand men, and prevailed on Hiarbas, one of the kings of Numidia, to join him. Sylla, receiving intelligence of these particulars, ordered Pompey to leave Sicily, which he had settled in tranquility, and pass with expedition into Africa. Pompey, pursuant to his orders, immediately embarked five legions, and, landing in the African province, marched, without loss of time, against the enemy. When the two armies were in sight of each other, and drawn up in battalia, a dreadful storm arose; upon which Domitius, not suspecting that Pompey would attack him that day, founded a retreat; but, while his troops were retiring in some disorder to their camp, the young general, laying hold of that opportunity, fell upon them, and after an obstinate dispute, which lasted the greatest part of the day, gained a complete victory. Of twenty thousand men, Domitius left seventeen thousand dead upon the spot, and not without much difficulty regained his camp with the poor remains of his shattered army. Thither Pompey pursued him, forced his camp, killed Domitius, and took Hiarbas prisoner. In consequence of this success, he recovered all the cities of Africa which had been detached from Sylla's party, entered Numida, and, having reduced that part of it which belonged to Hiarbas his prisoner, gave it to Hiempfal, who had always opposed the Marian faction. As this glorious expedition was completed in forty days, so rapid a progress, by a general of twenty-four years of age, alarmed the dictator, who ordered the young hero to disband his troops, and return to Rome. Pompey and his troops were sensibly affected with this order, which would have produced another civil war, had not Pompey conducted himself with great temper; for, when his legonaries began to mutiny,

*Sylla jealous of
Pompey.*

¹ Appian. *ibid.*

^m Plut. & Appian. *ibid.*

he resolutely protested, that he would rather die by his own hand than involve Rome in new troubles. Having thus appeased his troops, and disbanded three of his legions, he returned to Rome, where he was received with uncommon marks of friendship by the dictator, who went to meet him, embraced him with great tenderness, and honoured him with the surname of the Great, ordering all, who were present, to give him that glorious title ^a (X).

When the time came for electing new consuls, Sylla, though dictator, stood for that office, and accordingly was elected with Q. Cæcilius Metellus, surnamed Pius, who had joined him upon his first landing in Italy. Never was any consular year more peaceable; all men trembled at the name of Sylla; and the Romans, once so fond of liberty, were brought to submit tamely to the yoke of an imperious master. However the dictator, to gain the affections of the multitude, gave them such entertainments as now seem to surpass all credit. He consecrated the tenths of his whole substance to Hercules; and on that occasion made a general feast for all the people of Rome, wherein there was such an abundance, or rather profusion, of all the delicacies the sea, rivers, forests, or fields could afford, that immense quantities of provisions were every day (for the feast lasted several days) thrown into the Tiber. Plutarch tells us, that the wine with which Sylla regaled the people was forty years old and upwards. The joy of this magnificent entertainment was abated by the death of his wife Metella, whom he had always respected, notwithstanding her irregularities.

Yr. of Fl.
2269.
Ante Chr.
79.
U. C. 669.

Sylla consul and dictator at the same time.

Feasts the whole Roman people.

In the mean time Pompey was soliciting the senate and people for a triumph, which his late victories seemed to deserve, and the senate was willing to grant. Sylla, probably jealous of the glory of the young hero, opposed his pretensions, alleging a law, which enacted, that none but prætors and consuls should triumph, and that for battles gained under their own auspices; whereas Pompey was but a private Roman knight, and had gained his victories under the auspices of the dictator. This repulse did not discourage the young conqueror, who continued

Unwilling to allow Pompey a triumph.

^a Plut. in Pomp.

(X) Such was, according to that he owed it to the flattery Plutarch, the origin of this of his friends (1). surname; but Livy assures us,

(1) Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 45.

*Pompey's
bold an-
swer to
Sylla.*

to make interest with the senate and people for gaining his point. Sylla told him plainly, that he would employ all his credit with the people against him; not doubting but that declaration, as he was master of the suffrages of the people, would make him despair of obtaining the honour he so ardently desired. Pompey, not in the least discouraged, answered the dictator, that his opposition would be in vain, since more people adored the rising than the setting sun. These words the dictator did not well hear; but observing surprize in the countenances of those who stood by, he asked what the young man had said. When it was told him, he cried out twice, "Let him then triumph in the name of the gods." Pompey, taking advantage of this answer, immediately ordered every thing to be got ready for his triumph; and, to give more uneasiness to those who envied him, he ordered his triumphal chariot to be drawn by four elephants. The gate of the city being too narrow for four elephants to pass a-breast under it, he was forced to employ horses, as usual. Thus a Roman knight was distinguished with the highest military honours, before he had attained to the age requisite for having a seat in the senate.

*Pompey
triumphs.*

*Julius
Cæsar
makes his
first cam-
paign.*

But fortune was raising up against him a very formidable rival in the person of Julius Cæsar, who, in this very year, made his first campaign in the East. He had married the daughter of Cornelius Cinna, and obtained at the age of seventeen, if we may believe Suetonius, the office of high-priest of Jupiter, being supported by the Marian faction, which then prevailed.

*He resists
Sylla.*

Sylla would have persuaded him to divorce his wife Cornelia, who had already brought him his first daughter Julia; but the bold youth had courage to resist this formidable master of Rome, though he had just before forced Piso to put away his wife Annia, whom he tenderly loved; and obliged Pompey to part with his wife Antistia, and marry Æmilia, daughter-in-law to Sylla by his wife Metella, who had been married to Æmilius Scaurus. The dictator, highly provoked against Cæsar, for daring to contradict his sovereign will, resolved to proscribe him; and it was not without infinite difficulties that the friends of the Julian family got the decree of proscription suspended. When they entreated him to excuse the sallies of a warm and presumptuous youth, from whom he could have nothing to fear, Sylla answered, that he

discovered in him, young as he was, several Mariuses. Cæsar, alarmed at his jealousy, retired from Rome, and wandered some time in the country of the Sabines, where he had the misfortune to be surpris'd by a party of Sylla's soldiers; but Cornelius, who commanded them, consented to let him escape upon his paying two talents. Thinking himself no longer safe in Italy, he withdrew to the court of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, where his residence is said to have proved fatal to his virtue, the private hours he spent with that prince raising suspicions injurious to his honour^P. After he had resided some time at the court of the Bithynian king, he went to serve under Marcus Minutius Thermus, at that time prætor of Asia (Y).

He leaves Rome;

and retires into Bithynia.

Sylla reduced, this year, Nola, in Campania, and Volaterræ, in Etruria, the only two cities that held out against him. Italy being now in perfect tranquillity, he declined the consulate for the next year, and recommended to the tribes P. Servilius Vatia, a man of merit, his old friend, and Appius Claudius Pulcher, who were accordingly chosen in the field of Mars (Z).

Sylla, after having destroyed above a hundred thousand Roman citizens, taken away the lives of ninety senators, proscribed, or caused to be murdered, near two thousand six hundred knights, and buried incredible numbers of the allies in the ruins of their cities, resolved to lay down the power he had usurped, and put himself upon a level with the rest of the people. Had he consulted ambition or policy he would never have taken such a resolution. The Roman people had set no limits to his power in point of time; there were no domestic troubles to create him any uneasiness, Rome being accustomed to bear the yoke; and his friends, who were much interested in his preservation, formed a sufficient security to him against the attempts of his enemies. On the other hand, so many dangers surrounded him in a private life, that he could

Yr. of Fl.
2270.
Ante Chr.
78.
U. C. 670.

Sylla abdicates the dictatorship.

^P Plut. in Cæsar.

(Y) Suetonius says, that this general sent him into Bithynia, and gave him the command of the fleet which Nicomedes fitted out to assist at the siege of Mitylene, the only city in Asia which refused to submit to the Romans after the treaty of peace concluded between

Mithridates and Sylla. Cæsar distinguished himself at the taking of this city, and merited several civic crowns.

(Z) This year Cicero first pleaded in public in favour of Roscius, whose father had been proscribed and killed by Sylla's order.

*His speech
to the Ro-
man peo-
ple.*

not reasonably expect to be safe. None of these considerations had weight with him: he resolved to restore the republic to her ancient liberty, an abdication which must have proceeded from a greatness of mind to which none of the ancient historians have done justice. When he had taken this resolution, he assembled the people, mounted the rostra, and surprised Rome with so unexpected a determination. He represented, in a short speech, the miserable condition in which he had found the city at his return from Asia; and added, that the republic being in great danger, he had been forced to use violent remedies; that the loss of a little blood only would have increased the distemper instead of curing it; that he had therefore thought it necessary to take a great deal of blood from a body so robust and diseased, in order to restore it to perfect health. He concluded his speech with these words, which filled the heart of every true Roman with joy: "And now, Romans, I leave you to yourselves; I resign my office, divest myself of the unlimited power you have conferred upon me, and am ready to give an account of my whole administration; and answer, in a private capacity, all the accusations that shall be brought against me." So saying, he dismissed his lictors, came down from the rostra, and walked in the forum, discoursing familiarly with some of his friends before the multitude, who, struck with admiration, looked on so unexpected a change as a prodigy.

*Is insulted
only by one
young man.*

Though the city was then full of the children and friends of proscribed persons, yet none offered to insult Sylla, except one young man, who followed him to his house, abusing him in a most scurrilous manner. Sylla did not deign to give him any answer; but, turning to the few friends he had about him, "This usage (said he) will for the future deter any man from laying down the sovereign power, as I have done, if he once gets it into his hands." A few days after his resignation, he retired to his fine country-house near Cumæ, spent there some days in great tranquility, and then returned to the city, lest his enemies should think, that fear had confined him to the country. In Rome he maintained the rank of a man of the first distinction, but intermeddled no farther in public affairs than became a private person, whose great employments, and powerful friends, gave him more weight than a common citizen. At the first election after his resignation, he had the mortification to see Pompey, his pupil, assume an ascendant over him in the assembly
of

of the people. Pompey used all his interest to get his friend, M. Æmilius Lepidus, first nominated consul; Sylla solicited for Q. Lutatius Catulus. The former was a man of a violent temper, and a declared enemy to Sylla; the latter was his intimate friend, and generally looked upon as a person of great probity, wisdom, and experience. The emulation was greater between the chiefs of the two parties, than between the candidates themselves; but Pompey, who was extremely favoured by the people, prevailed. His friend Lepidus was first nominated consul, not by any merit or interest of his own, but by the power and solicitation of Pompey. When he was coming out of the assembly, overjoyed with his success, Sylla took him aside, and told him, that he had got the worst of men named consul before the most virtuous man in Rome; but that he had no reason to triumph in his victory, because he would find, when it was too late, that he had been nourishing a snake in his bosom. What Sylla foretold proved true, as we shall see in a more proper place.

Pompey assists Sylla at the election of consuls.

The two consuls entered upon their office, and the misunderstanding which arose between them threatening the city with a new storm, Sylla withdrew again to his country-house, and there gave himself up to the most infamous debaucheries, though full sixty years of age. The charms of his wife, Valeria, could not keep him from a scandalous commerce with actors and actresses. His chief favourites were Roscius the comedian, Sorex the chief mimic, and Metrobius, who acted female parts on the stage. With these he spent whole days and nights in drinking and revelling, which brought a distemper upon him, that soon ended his life. His blood was corrupted, and bred an imposthume in his bowels. This he was not aware of till the corruption infected his flesh, and his whole body swarmed with vermin. Many slaves were employed night and day in destroying them; but they multiplied so fast, that his cloaths, baths, rooms, and his very food, were covered with them. He washed himself often in the course of the day to no purpose. Being at last sensible that his distemper was past curing, he applied himself to the finishing of his memoirs; in the twenty-second book of which he declared, the Chaldeans had foretold him, that after having acquired great power and glory, he should conclude the last act of his life in full prosperity. Ten days before his death he interposed in some disputes which the inhabitants of Puteoli had among them-

Sylla's debauched life in the country.

themselves, reconciled the contending parties, and prescribed them a form of government, which they adopted. The day before he died, he was informed that Granius, the chief magistrate of Puteoli, delayed paying the immense sums due from him to the public, in hopes of being freed from that obligation by Sylla's death. Upon this intimation Sylla sent for him into his bed-chamber, and there ordered his slaves to strangle him in his presence; but straining his voice in the heat of his passion, he broke the imposthume, and voided a great deal of blood. This discharge weakened him to such a degree, that he passed the night in great agony, and died the day following, leaving behind him two children, very young, by his wife Metella. Valeria was afterwards delivered of a daughter, named Posthuma, for so the Romans called those who were born after the death of their father¹.

Sylla dies.

His funeral occasioned a misunderstanding between the consuls. Lepidus was for having him carried to the burial-place of his ancestors, without any mark of distinction; but Catulus made use of all the authority his office gave him, and Pompey employed his interest with the people, to have the funeral honours paid to the deceased which were due to his merit. Never was a more magnificent funeral seen in Rome: his corpse being placed on a rich bier, was carried on the shoulders of four senators, and attended by the pontifices, the Vestals, the senate in a body, all the curule magistrates, the whole body of Roman knights, and a numerous train of officers, who had served under him in Africa, Greece, Asia, and Italy. The Vestals and pontifices sung hymns in praise of the deceased, which were repeated by the senate, the knights, and the people. The body was burnt with great solemnity in the field of Mars, where no funeral pile had been raised since the time of the first kings. Many statues were erected to his memory, and a magnificent monument in the field of Mars, with an epitaph of his own composing, the substance of which was, "That no friend had ever done him so much good, nor enemy so much hurt, but he had returned both with usury." Of all his friends, who were almost numberless, Pompey alone, whose ingratitude gave him no small offence, was left out of his will. Without all doubt Sylla was a great general and consummate politician; but proud, insolent, vindic-

His funeral,

and epitaph.

¹ Plut. in Sylla. Liv. Epit. lib. xc. cap. 4. Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. 2.

² Plut. & Appian. *ibid.*

live, and inhuman. His abdication has been imputed by some to madness, and ascribed by others to greatness of mind: perhaps it was owing to pride and caprice. In effect, he risked very little by this step in point of personal safety. He had destroyed all his enemies who possessed either power or influence, and still enjoyed that pre-eminence and credit in the commonwealth which arose from his fortune, rank, and character.

Sylla was no sooner dead than new disturbances sprung up in the republic. M. Æmilius Lepidus the consul did all in his power to revive the old quarrels between the nobility and the people, hoping by these means to make himself as absolute a master of the government as Sylla had been. He began with attempting to annul Sylla's acts, and deprive the republic of the many wise laws the dictator had made. He was resolutely opposed by his colleague Catulus; and the misunderstanding between the two chief magistrates was carried so far, that the senate, dreading the consequences of their quarrel, forced them to swear, that they would not take up arms against each other. Care was also taken to separate the two rivals, and to oblige the turbulent Lepidus to set out, without delay, for Transalpine Gaul, which had fallen to him by lot. He left Rome, indeed, at the head of a consular army; but instead of passing the Alps, continued in Hetruria, till his consulate was near expiring. He then approached Rome at the head of his army, which he had taken care to strengthen with new levies in Hetruria, and declared, that his design was to procure himself a second consulate by force, if he could not obtain it otherwise. He expected to have entered Rome without opposition; but, to his great surprize, he found both his colleague and Pompey under arms; the one posted at the entrance of the bridge Milvius, the other at the foot of the Janiculus. Being too far advanced to recede, he attempted to force his way into the city; but was repulsed by Catulus and Pompey, and obliged to save himself by a shameful flight into Hetruria. The capital being delivered from all danger by the defeat of the seditious consul, Pompey was ordered to march against M. Junius Brutus, the father of the famous Brutus, who had declared for Lepidus, and commanded a great detachment in Cisalpine Gaul. Brutus, at the approach of Pompey, shut himself up in Mutina, where he was closely besieged, and at length forced to surrender himself and his whole army at discretion. Pom-

New disturbances raised by Lepidus.

Lepidus defeated by Catulus and Pompey.

pey

pey treated his troops with great humanity; but ordered Brutus to be beheaded¹.

Lepidus, having assembled his dispersed forces, and made new levies, appeared once more before Rome; but finding Catulus ready to receive him, and being at the same time informed of the defeat of Brutus, and reduction of Mutina, he retired a second time into Hetruria. Upon his retreat, the great elections were made with the usual tranquillity, when D. Junius Brutus, surnamed Lepidus, and Mamercus Æmilius Livianus, were chosen consuls. Lepidus, having lost all hopes of obtaining the consulate, left Italy, and repaired to Sardinia, where he raised a new army, with a design to carry the war into Sicily. He was prevented by death from pursuing the wicked measures he had taken; and is said to have died of grief upon the receipt of a letter, assuring him, that his wife, in his absence, had proved unfaithful to his bed. His party fell with him; and Catulus and Pompey shared the glory of having saved Rome from the misfortunes that threatened her².

*Lepidus
dies in Sar-
dania.*

During these transactions, Murena, whom Sylla had left in Asia, unjustly attacked the king of Pontus, and forced him into the second Mithridatic war, of which we have given an account in our history of Pontus.

Italy now enjoyed profound tranquillity; but the party of Marius and Cinna was kept up by the brave Sertorius, whose noble exploits since his proscription and flight we have reserved for this place. Upon the first advantages gained by Sylla in Italy, Sertorius, who had been appointed by the Marian faction prætor of Spain, retired thither, to secure that country, which might prove a refuge to his friends, and a support to his declining party. Notwithstanding the opposition he met with from the Barbarians, through whose countries he passed, he reached his government in safety; and there, by his affable and obliging behaviour, gained the affections of the nobility and the people. When Sylla heard of the arrival of Sertorius in Spain, he sent Caius Annius, at the head of a powerful army, to drive him from thence. Sertorius, having timely notice of the dictator's design, immediately detached Julius Salinator with a body of six thousand men, to guard the narrow passes of the Pyrenees; which service he performed so effectually, that Annius finding it impossible to

*Sertorius
retires to
Spain.*

¹ Plut. in Pomp. Appian. Bell. Civil. *ibid.* ² Plut. & Appian. *ibid.* Sallust. Hist. lib. i. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 23.

open a way into Spain, encamped at the foot of the mountains, in great perplexity, not knowing what course to take.

In the mean time, one Calpurnius Lanarius, being gained over by Annius, treacherously murdered Julius Sallinator; an incident which so terrified the troops under his command, that they abandoned the passes, and gave Ann-

*Is driven
from thence
by Annius.*

nus an opportunity of penetrating into Spain. Sertorius, not being strong enough to keep the field, retired with three thousand men to New Carthage, where embarking on board a fleet, he passed into Africa, and landed on the coast of Mauritania. His men went ashore to supply themselves with fresh water; but while they were straggling about with too much security, the Barbarians put many of them to the sword. This new misfortune forced Sertorius

*Is joined by
a small fleet
of Cilician
pirates.*

to sail back to Spain; but finding the whole coast lined with Annius's troops, he put to sea again, not knowing what course to steer. At some distance from the coast, he fell in with a small fleet of Cilician pirates, cruising between Africa and Spain, and having prevailed on them to join him, in hopes of booty, he sailed for the island of Pityusa, near Yvica, on the coast of Africa, where he made a descent, overpowered the garrison placed there by Annius, and acquired a considerable booty. This slight advantage brought Annius in person upon him, with a great fleet, having five thousand soldiers on board. Though Sertorius's fleet consisted of vessels not built for strength, but for lightness, he made ready to engage the enemy; but a violent storm arising, most of his ships were driven against the rocky shore, and dashed to pieces. Sertorius, with the small remains of his shattered fleet, being prevented by the fury of the weather from putting out to sea, and by the enemy from landing, was tossed about for ten days together, being all that time, as the sea ran very high, in great danger of perishing with all his men.

*Lands in
Spain.*

When the storm subsided, he passed the streights of Gades, and landed near the mouth of the Bætis. There he met with some seamen newly arrived from the Atlantic or Fortunate islands (Z), and was so pleased with the ac-

(Z) These islands, according to Plutarch, were only two in number, divided from each other by a narrow channel, and distant about 10,000 furlongs from the coast of Africa. The moderns are much divided in their opinions of those islands; some supposing them to be North America, others, the kingdoms of Sweden and Norway; but the most probable is that of Father Kircher, who conjectures the Canaries and Azores to be the Fortunate and Atlantic islands of the ancients.

count

count they gave him of those happy regions, that being tired with so many fatigues and dangers by sea and land, he resolved to retire thither, and pass his life in tranquillity, far from the noise of wars, and free from the troubles of government. He no sooner communicated his design to the Cilician pirates, than they abandoned him; and choosing rather to rove about the seas in quest of spoils and riches, than to live in peace and quiet, set sail for Africa; to assist Ascalis king of Mauritania against his rebellious subjects. Sertorius was not so enamoured of retirement; but that when he heard of this new war in Africa, he likewise resolved to sail thither, and join the enemies of Ascalis. He immediately put to sea, and landing on the coast of Mauritania, marched directly against Ascalis, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to take refuge in the city of Tongis, now Tangier, which he closely besieged. Pacianus, whom Sylla had sent to assist the king, advanced against Sertorius, at the head of a considerable army. This last, leaving part of his forces before the place, marched with the rest to meet Pacianus, whose forces, though superior to his own in number, he entirely defeated, slew the general, and took the whole army prisoners. After this victory, he not only reduced the city of Tingis, but made himself absolute master of the whole country. Having thus delivered the oppressed Mauritians from the tyrannical yoke of Ascalis, he restored their estates, their cities, their laws, and their privileges, accepting only of such acknowledgements as were freely offered him by the people^a.

*Passes over
into Africa.*

*Defeats
Pacianus,
and takes
the city of
Tingis.*

*Is invited
into Lusitania.*

*Is made
general of
the Lusitani-
ans.*

The Lusitanians, being threatened with a new war from Annus, sent an embassy, inviting him to take upon him the command of their armies. In consequence of this intimation, he embarked immediately with two thousand five hundred Romans, who had followed him in his flight, and seven hundred Africans, who were willing to share his fortune; and putting to sea, steered his course towards Lusitania. In his passage he fell in with the Roman fleet, commanded by Cotta; but having forced his way through it, he arrived safe on the Lusitanian coast, landed his men, and marched to Mount Ballera, the place of the general rendezvous. There he put himself at the head of that warlike nation, and became, in effect, king of Lusitania; the natives, who were well acquainted with his virtues, experience in war, and great

^a Plut. in Sertor.

abilities, investing him with an absolute and uncontrouled authority, and committing to his care themselves and their fortunes.

No man was more worthy to govern a state, or command an army. He was, according to Plutarch, free from all vices, and an enemy to all sorts of pleasure; in adversity and dangers undaunted, and no way elated with prosperity; but of an even mind, ever courteous, and ever obliging. He was merciful and backward in punishing; but in rewarding, liberal and magnificent, even to excess. None of the most famous and renowned generals of antiquity understood the art of war better than Sertorius. He did not confine himself to one method in ranging his cohorts, and disposing his squadrons, but varied it according to the character of his enemy. Though he approved of the order of battle established among the Romans, yet he did not adhere to it on all occasions, but changed it when he thought proper, and by that occasional variation, often broke the measures of the generals that opposed him. His great art was that of harassing his enemies, laying ambuscades, surprising them in narrow passes, tiring them with long marches, and avoiding a general engagement unless he was sure of victory. With these qualifications, Sertorius, at the head of eight thousand men, made war with four Roman generals, who had under their command a hundred and twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and two thousand archers and slingers.

His character.

Titus Didius, governor of Bætica, was the first who gave him battle. But that weak general was defeated with the loss of two thousand men, and driven out of the field. Sylla then dispatched Metellus, one of the best generals then in Rome, to stop the progress of this new enemy. The reputation of that great commander suffered much by this expedition; for he did not know which way to act, having a man to oppose of undaunted boldness, and uncommon sagacity, who was continually harassing him, and yet could not be brought to a pitched battle; but, by the swiftness and dexterity of his Spanish soldiery, was continually changing his station, and every day contriving new stratagems. Metellus, on his first arrival, sent for L. Domitius, then prætor of Hither Spain, to his assistance. Sertorius, being informed of the march of Domitius, detached Hirtuleius or Herculeius, his quæstor, against him, who gave the Roman prætor a total overthrow. Hereupon Metellus ordered Lucius Lollius, prætor

Defeats Titus Didius.

Gains great advantages over the Romans.

tor

tor or Narbonne Gaul, to leave his province, and join him; but Hirtuleius meeting him in the neighbourhood of Ilerda, now Lerida, gained a complete victory, dispersed his troops, and killed his lieutenant-general.

Forms Lusitania into a republic.

Upon the fame of these victories, all those who were dissatisfied with the government of Sylla, especially such of the proscribed persons as could escape his fury, flocked to Sertorius from all parts; insomuch that he soon saw in his camp such a number of illustrious Roman citizens, that he formed a senate, whose authority he established in opposition to that of the senate of Rome. From them he likewise chose his quæstors, his military tribunes, and other officers of his army. Thus he erected Lusitania into a new republic, which, as it consisted chiefly of Romans, rivalled that of Rome. Sylla, highly provoked to see a proscribed person thus reigning in Spain, and the republic divested of one of the finest parts of her dominions, was continually sending supplies to Metellus; but Sertorius, at the head of a handful of men, who were accustomed to range about the mountains, to endure hunger and thirst, and to live exposed without fire or covering, so harassed the Roman army, that Metellus began to be quite disheartened. If he sent his men in parties to forage, Sertorius, who was acquainted with the country, scarce ever failed of cutting off their retreat; if the army marched in a body, he was continually harassing and alarming them, falling on their rear, blocking up the narrow passes, intercepting their convoys, and cutting off their stragglers; by these means Metellus suffered the same inconveniencies as if he had been conquered, while Sertorius reaped all the advantages of a conqueror.

Challenges Metellus to end the war by single combat.

The latter, being informed that his rival had spoken of him with contempt, as if he declined fighting from cowardice, immediately sent him a challenge, with an invitation to end the war by single combat. Metellus, who was advanced in years, wisely refused to enter the lists with a strong active man, then in the flower of his age, thinking that it became a general, as Theophrastus observes, to die like a general, and not like a gladiator. However, his declining the challenge brought him into discredit with the undiscerning multitude; and he, to recover his reputation by some signal action, turned his arms against Lacobriga (A), a considerable city of the Turduli, which he

(A) The ancient Lacobriga Lagos, a little city of Spain near the bay of Cadiz, now stands.

hoped

hoped to take in two days, there being but one well within the place. Sertorius conveyed into the city, before Metellus invested it, six thousand skins full of water, and removed all those who could not be of service during the siege; so that Metellus continued a long time before the place, without gaining the least advantage over the enemy. When he had used most part of his provisions, he sent Aquinus at the head of six thousand men to bring in fresh supplies from the neighbouring country; but Sertorius falling unexpectedly on Aquinus, cut in pieces part of his detachment, and took the rest prisoners; the commander himself being the only man who had the good fortune to make his escape. Metellus being reduced to great difficulties for want of provisions, raised the siege, and withdrew from before the place amidst the hisses of the Spaniards, who insulted him from their ramparts *.

*Defeats
Aquinus,
and obliges
Metellus to
raise the
siege of Lu-
cobriga.*

Sertorius having gained the esteem, love, and admiration of the Lusitanians, by these repeated advantages, and much more by his obliging and insinuating behaviour, changed their savage and furious manner of fighting. He taught them to use the Roman arms, to keep their ranks, and follow their ensigns; and, in short, of a confused multitude of thieves and robbers, formed a regular well-disciplined army. He likewise bestowed liberally upon them gold and silver, to adorn their arms, caused their shields to be wrought and engraved with various figures, and prevailed upon them to lay aside their own dress, and assume the Roman toga, or gown. What delighted them most was, the care he took of their children: he sent for all those of the noblemen in those provinces, placed them in the great city of Osca (B), and there appointed masters to instruct them in the Greek and Roman learning, that they might in due time be capable of sharing the government of the republic. Under this pretence, he made them hostages for the fidelity of their parents, who nevertheless were pleased to see their children go daily to school in good order, and handsomely dressed in fine long garments edged with purple. Sertorius paid large salaries for their learning, often enquired what progress they had made, examined them himself, and rewarded

*Civilizes
the Lusit-
anians.*

* Plut. *ibid.*

(B) The city of Osca, now Tarraconian Spain. It now Huesca, stood in the country of the kingdom of Aragon. the Hergetes, a people of

Their attachment to him.

He makes use of a hind to impose upon the superstitious Lusitanians.

the most deserving with those bullæ aureæ, which were at Rome the chief distinction of children of high birth.

At this time a custom prevailed among the Spaniards and Lusitanians, that when a great commander was slain in battle, all those who attended him died with him, either by the enemy's swords, or their own. Of these Sertorius had many thousands, all resolved to sacrifice their lives for his safety, and defend him at all events. His soldiers not only revered him as an invincible general, but as a man inspired, and a favourite of heaven. This opinion he gained among the superstitious Lusitanians by several artifices, among which that of the hind was none of the least. A Lusitanian, by name Spanus, meeting one day a doe, which in flying from the hunters had just dropped its fawn, took it up, and brought it to Sertorius, who used to reward very liberally those who presented him with fruit, fowls, or venison. As the young hind was milk-white, the general reared it with great care, and made it so tame, that it followed him wherever he went, without being frightened at the noise and hurry of the camp. Being well acquainted with the superstition and credulity of the Lusitanians, he insinuated that the hind was inspired, that it was given him by Diana, and that it discovered hidden mysteries. When he received any private intelligence of the enemy's designs or motions, he pretended that the hind had informed him of them in his sleep, and charged him to keep his forces in readiness. Upon the first notice of any advantage gained by the officers who commanded under him, he used to bring forth the hind crowned with flowers, and encourage his soldiers to return thanks to the gods, for the account they should soon receive of some prosperous action. By these and such devices he brought the Lusitanians to look upon him as a man sent them from heaven, or rather as a god under the appearance of a man. Hence Metellus, though an old and experienced general, could not, during Sylla's life-time, gain the least advantage over him, or prevail upon one city to declare against him.

Pompey appointed to command against him.

When Sylla was dead, the republic, alarmed at the extraordinary progress Sertorius had made in Lusitania, resolved to send another general against him, with such a force as might crush him in one campaign. All the officers of any note in Rome earnestly solicited so honourable a commission, and among the rest Pompey, who had just suppressed the troubles raised by Lepidus. We are told, that though all was quiet in Rome, Pompey still kept

kept his army on foot in the neighbourhood of the city, and under various pretences refused to disband it, till the senate at last thought fit to decree him the government of Lusitania. L. Philippus was the first who made this motion in the senate, which was opposed by several senators, who thought it improper to bestow such an important employment on a young man, before he had passed through the inferior offices. After a long and warm debate, a decree passed, appointing Pompey commander in chief of the army ordered to march into Lusitania, to the assistance of Metellus. It was no sooner passed than Pompey set out from Rome at the head of the troops he had kept together after the defeat of Lepidus *.

*He sets out
for Lusitania.*

The republic chose for her new consuls, Cn. Octavius Nepos, and Caius Scribonius Curio, who made it their whole business to support the regulations Sylla had made against the attempts of the tribunes of the people. The dictator had almost annihilated their power; but upon his death their ambition revived. At the head of the college was Cneius Sicinius, whose chief talent was buffoonry, the art of mimicking, and turning into ridicule the most serious discourses of the greatest orators. Though he was a man of no principles or probity, yet he had found means to please the multitude; and, depending upon their favour, he had the confidence to summon the consuls to appear in the comitium, and there give an account why they deprived the tribunes of their ancient prerogatives. The consuls obeyed the summons, and on the day appointed appeared before the people, when Curio spoke with all the dignity of a consul, and all the force of a great orator, shewing, that all the late disturbances owed their rise to the abuse of the too great power which the tribunes had usurped. While he was speaking, Sicinius mimicked all his gestures and motions, making wry faces to divert the attention of the people: but truth prevailed over the fondness of the populace for buffoonries; the tribunes continued in the same low condition, to which Sylla had reduced them, and the patricians triumphed. The whole glory of this victory was owing to Curio; for his colleague Octavius, who was afflicted with the rheumatism, kept the whole time a profound silence, sitting on the rostra wrapped up in linen, and covered over with plasters. The facetious tribune told him, as he came down from the rostra, that he was ob-

* Plut. in Pomp. & Sertor.

liged to his colleague, who, by throwing himself about, as usual, had saved him from being devoured by the flies. In short, Sicinius became such a dangerous wit, that he was assassinated before his office expired ^r.

Julius Cæsar begins to shine at the bar.

In the course of this year Julius Cæsar, though but twenty-two years of age, began to shine at the bar. After he had signalized his valour at the siege of Mitylene, he applied himself to the study of eloquence, and now accused Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, who had been prætor of Macedon, and honoured with the consulate and a triumph. He charged him with mal-administration; but Quintus Hortensius, and Caius Aurelius Cotta, the two greatest orators in Rome, pleaded with so much eloquence in favour of the accused, that he was acquitted. However, Cæsar gained the reputation of being one of the best orators of his age, and would have challenged the first place among men of that character, had he not proved, to the great misfortune of the republic, one of her greatest warriors. Not long after he had accused Dolabella, he embarked for Rhodes, with a design to improve himself in the art of oratory under Apollonius, one of the greatest rhetoricians of his time; but he was taken in his passage by some pirates, who infested those seas. When they demanded twenty talents for his ransom, he smiled at them, as not understanding the value of their prisoner, and voluntarily engaged to pay them fifty, that is, nine thousand six hundred and eighty-seven pounds ten shillings. He dispatched some of his domestics to raise the sum he had promised in the neighbouring cities, and remained in the hands of those robbers, with only one friend and two attendants. During the thirty-eight days he spent among them, he applied himself to the study of eloquence and poetry, wrote verses, and composed speeches, which he repeated to them, reproaching those who did not admire them, with barbarity and ignorance. He conversed familiarly; but always treated them with contempt, and often in raillery threatened to have them crucified, if they disturbed him when he was disposed to sleep. The pirates, ascribing this free way of talking to juvenile vivacity, were much entertained with his spirit and conversation.

Is ransomed.

Having payed his ransom, which was raised by the Milesians, and obtained his liberty, he went directly to Miletus, where he manned some ships, with which he sur-

^r Cic. in Bruto. Quintil. lib. xi. & Plut. in Crasso.

prised the pirates, and carried them prisoners to Pergamus. As it belonged to Junius, at that time prætor of Asia, to determine their punishment, Cæsar applied to him, while he was taking a progress through the Asiatic province. Junius, who was a very covetous man, and hoped to extort great sums from the pirates, answered, that he would consider what was to be done with the prisoners. Cæsar, disgusted with this answer, returned to Pergamus, where he ordered the pirates to be crucified; a punishment which he had often threatened them with while he was in their hands, and which they never dreamed he would be able to inflict *. He then went to Rhodes, where he improved his talent for oratory, under the famous rhetorician Apollonius Molon, who at that time had Cicero for his auditor.

Surprises the pirates,

and causes them to be crucified.

Pompey, having passed the winter in Narbonne Gaul, and in the spring crossed the Pyrenees, after having surmounted the obstacles which some Gaulish nations threw in his way, appeared on the frontiers of Hither Spain. There he was informed, that the Roman troops, under the command of Perperna, or Perpenna, had joined Sertorius. Perperna, after the death of Lepidus, whose lieutenant he was, had collected the remains of his army, amounting to about thirty-three thousand men; and had marched with them into Spain, intending to settle there, and to act against Metellus separately: but when his soldiers understood that Pompey had passed the Pyrenees at the head of a powerful army, they threatened to abandon Perperna, if he did not instantly lead them to Sertorius, and resign the command to a general, who was able to defend himself, and those who served under them. Perperna complied, joined Sertorius, and served under him as a subaltern.

Perperna retires to Spain.

His troops join Sertorius;

who marches against Pompey.

Sertorius, now at the head of a very considerable army, took the field, in order to stop the progress of Pompey, whose high character, founded on many glorious exploits, was a strong prejudice in his favour. He was in the flower of his age, had been honoured some years before with a triumph and the surname of Great, and was now empowered to act independently of Metellus, with the title of proconsul. Upon his arrival, several cities, which had continued faithful to Sertorius, seemed inclined to open their gates to a general whose great fame had reached the most remote corners of Spain. Sertorius, to

* Plut. in Cæsar.

*Sertorius
besieges
Lauron;*

prevent their defection by some signal action, and to make them sensible that Pompey's protection could avail them little against his power and resentment, entered the province of Hither Spain, which was most devoted to the republic; and there, though Pompey was advancing full march against him, laid siege to Lauron, now Liria, a strong city on the banks of the Turia. Pompey, not doubting that he should be able to raise the siege, marched to the enemy's lines, and thinking that he had inclosed them between his own army and the city, conveyed a messenger into the place, to acquaint the garrison, that those who besieged them were themselves besieged, and would be soon obliged to retire with shame and disgrace. Sertorius, when informed of this message, smiled, and turning to his officers about him, "I will teach Sylla's disciple (said he), that it is the duty of a general to look as well behind as before." Having thus spoken, he sent orders to a detachment of six thousand men, who lay concealed among the mountains, to draw near Pompey, and fall upon his rear, if he should attempt to force the lines.

*and takes
it.*

Pompey, surprised at their sudden appearance, was forced to remain inactive, and see his confederates ruined: for the besieged, despairing of relief, surrendered to Sertorius, who spared their lives, and granted them their liberty; but burnt their city, not influenced by anger or cruelty, to which Sertorius was a stranger, but that it might be known to the admirers of Pompey, that though he was so near the fire which burnt down a confederate city, yet he was afraid to attempt its relief * (D).

Next year, L. Octavius, and C. Aurelius Cotta, were chosen consuls; and, upon a complaint made, that the famine occasioned in Rome by the Cilician pirates was owing to Sylla's having lessened the power of the tribunes of the people, Cotta was weak enough to give up one point in their favour, to the great prejudice of the repub-

* Plut. in Pomp. & Sertor.

(D) Pompey, after the surrender of the place, retired with Metellus to the foot of the Pyrenees; and there, without putting their troops into winter-quarters as usual,

suffered all the rigour of the season in tents, being afraid of a surprize from a general whom they both dreaded and admired.

lic.

lic. He consented, that for the future the tribunes might be promoted to superior offices, contrary to a law enacted by Sylla. Thus they began to recover their former power, which, in the end, proved the ruin of the republican government ^b.

The tribunes begin to recover their former power.

To return to Spain : when the season was proper for action, Metellus marched against Hirtuleius, one of Sertorius's lieutenants, engaged him, and, after an obstinate dispute, put him to flight. Hirtuleius lost in the action twenty thousand men, was dangerously wounded, and narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands ^c. Sertorius, upon intelligence of this overthrow, advanced with expedition to the banks of the Sucro in Tarraconian Spain, intending to attack Pompey, who was encamped there, before he could be joined by Metellus, and by that action repair the loss which his lieutenant had sustained ; while Pompey, fearing Metellus should share with him the glory of the victory, made haste to engage Sertorius before his arrival. Sertorius, considering that the darkness of the night would be a disadvantage to the enemy whether they were conquerors or conquered, none of them being acquainted with the country, delayed engaging till the close of the day, and then advanced against his rival, whose troops were formed in a plain on the banks of the Sucro. Pompey, though apprised of the enemy's design in deferring the engagement till the evening, would not decline it, for fear Metellus should join him with his victorious troops, and rob him of the glory which he promised himself from conquering a commander of so great reputation.

Hirtuleius defeated by Metellus.

The attack was begun with equal valour on both sides. Pompey, who commanded his own right wing, soon obliged Perperna, who commanded the enemy's left wing to give way. Sertorius, committing the care of his right wing to his lieutenants, flew to the assistance of the left ; and having brought his flying troops back to the charge, fell upon Pompey with such fury, that he was forced to save himself by flight. An African, of a gigantic size, who pursued him close, had already lifted up his arm to discharge a stroke at him with his broad-sword ; but Pompey, more active and nimble than the unwieldy African, prevented him, by cutting off his hand at the first blow. He then continued his flight, but being wounded, and thrown from his horse, he would have been

The battle of Sucro, between Pompey and Sertorius.

Pompey defeated.

His narrow escape.

^b Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. i. Sallust. in Fragment. Plut. in Cic. Front. ibid.

made prisoner, had not the Africans, who pursued him, quarrelled about his horse's golden trappings and rich caparison. While they were dividing the spoil, Pompey made his escape, and with difficulty, being wounded in the thigh with an arrow, reached his camp. Afranius, who commanded the left wing of the Roman army, had the advantage over the wing Sertorius had left; he put them into disorder, forced them to retire in confusion, and pursued them so close, that he entered the enemy's camp with the fugitives; but while his troops were busy in rifling the tents, Sertorius made a great slaughter of them, at the head of his victorious forces, and retook his camp. Early next morning Sertorius drew up his army in the same plain, resolved to venture a second engagement, which he had taken proper measures to make decisive; but Metellus coming up, he drew off, and returned to his camp, saying, "Had it not been for the old woman (meaning Metellus), I would have whipped the boy soundly, and sent him back to Rome^d."

*Sertorius's
hind lost
and found
again.*

At this time Sertorius was greatly concerned for the loss of his hind, which had gone astray, frightened with the noise and hurry of the late battle. He was thereby destitute of an admirable contrivance, to encourage the superstitious people, and inspire them with an awful respect for his person; but some of his men, wandering about in the night, found her, and brought her back to the general, who liberally rewarded them, after having enjoined them to keep this transaction secret. A few days after he appeared in public with a cheerful countenance, and declared to the chief nobility, that the gods had foretold him in a dream, that some extraordinary good fortune would soon attend him. He then ascended his tribunal, and, while he was administering justice, and giving audience to his officers and soldiers, the favourite hind, being let loose pursuant to his directions, no sooner discovered her master, than she ran bounding to him with great joy, leaped on the tribunal, laid her head in his lap, and licked his hand. Sertorius stroked and caressed her with all the tokens of tenderness and affection, inasmuch that tears ran down his cheeks. All those who were present, filled with wonder and astonishment, looked upon him as a person highly favoured by the gods, and, with respectful congratulations and loud shouts of joy, attended him to his tent^e.

^d Plut. in Pomp. & Sertor.

^e Idem ibid.

Sertorius,

Sertorius, not thinking it advisable to engage Pompey and Metellus after their conjunction, retired in the night from his camp; and, upon his retreat, Pompey went to receive and welcome Metellus. As he drew near, Pompey, in respect to him as his superior officer, ordered his lictors to lower their fasces; but Metellus would not assume any distinction, except that of giving the watchword to the whole army while they encamped together. As a perfect harmony reigned, both between the generals and the two armies, they agreed to march after Sertorius, and attack him in his new post. They found his army divided into two bodies, one commanded by Perperna, the other by himself. After they had continued some days in sight of each other, Metellus attacked Perperna, and Pompey led his forces against Sertorius, in hopes of recovering the reputation he had lost in the late battle. The engagement was so obstinate that it lasted the whole day; but in the end Pompey was put to flight, after having lost six thousand men, among whom was Memmius, his lieutenant, one of the greatest officers of his time. On the other hand, Metellus put Perperna to flight, and killed five thousand of his men; but Sertorius having rallied the fugitives, repulsed Metellus, and, cutting his way through the battalions, wounded him with his lance, and would have dispatched him, had not his troops, ashamed to leave their general in distress, returned to the charge. After they had rescued Metellus, they fell upon the Lusitanians, who attended Sertorius, with such fury, that they obliged them to retire in great confusion. The brave general, having attempted several times to rally his troops and lead them back to the charge, was forced at length to quit the field. He withdrew to a city among the mountains, not that he designed to stand a siege there, but only to deceive Pompey and Metellus. Accordingly the two generals hastened to lay siege to the place whither Sertorius had retreated; but while they were forming their camp, he made a sally, and escaped with his troops cross the mountains into Lusitania, where he raised a sufficient number of forces to enable him to face the enemy. The cities in his interest sent him supplies of men, money, and provisions, with such expedition, that, in a short time, he appeared again at the head of a formidable army, and offered the two generals battle, which they wisely declined; but they could not avoid the continual attacks of Sertorius, who reduced them to such distress, that they were obliged to separate and retire, Metellus

Good understanding between Metellus and Pompey.

Pompey defeated anew.

Sertorius obliged by Metellus to quit the field.

Pompey and Metellus reduced to straits.

tellus into Gaul, and Pompey into the country of the Vaccæi, whom Isidorus places at the foot of the Pyrenees. From thence he wrote a letter to the senate, demanding a speedy supply of men and money. Acquainting them with the wretched condition his troops were in, and adding, that if they delayed sending him powerful reinforcements, he should be forced to return into Italy with his army. To such extremities Sertorius brought the two greatest commanders, and most experienced warriors, of his age^f.

Sertorius offers to lay down his arms.

He was now in the height of his prosperity; but, as he was a sincere lover of his country, and had a great desire to return home, he declared to Metellus and Pompey, that he was ready to lay down his arms, and lead a private life, provided the decree of his proscription were repealed. This great desire of seeing again his native country was chiefly owing, as Plutarch informs us, to the tender affection and extraordinary respect he always had for his mother, under whom he had been brought up with great care, having lost his father when he was very young. When he afterwards received the melancholy news of her death, he was so much affected, that he wept bitterly, and lay seven days on the ground, without being seen by his most intimate friends. The chief commanders of the army, and persons of the greatest distinction, crowding round his tent, with difficulty prevailed upon him to appear again in public, and take upon him the management of affairs, which were then in a very prosperous condition. What answer he received from Pompey and Metellus, historians have not told us; it is certain, however, that the decree of his proscription was never repealed, nor he suffered to return to his native country.

Mithridates sends ambassadors to Sertorius.

The fame of his exploits, and of the great advantages he gained every day over the two most renowned generals of the republic, reached Asia. Mithridates the Great had been obliged by Sylla to submit to such conditions of peace as that general had been pleased to impose; but after the decease of Sylla he raised a powerful army, with a design to renew the war, and improve the disturbances of the republic to his advantage. As his court was at that time filled with proscribed persons, who had fled from Rome, these, especially L. Magius and L. Fannius, advised him to enter into an alliance with Sertorius; and

^f Plut. in Pomp. & Sertor.

the king, pursuant to their advice, sent ambassadors into Spain, offering the Lusitanian general three thousand talents, and forty galleys, on condition that he would suffer him to re-conquer those provinces of Asia which he had been forced to give up, in virtue of his treaty with Sylla. Upon the arrival of the ambassadors, Sertorius called a council, when they unanimously approved of the king's proposals, and were very pressing with Sertorius to comply with his request, since he demanded nothing but a consent to an undertaking which they could no way prevent.

Here we cannot sufficiently admire the constancy and magnanimity of that brave commander, who appeared greater in this glorious negotiation than at the head of his army. Though it would have cost him nothing to grant Mithridates what he desired, and such a grant would have procured him great sums, with a considerable armament, yet he would not by any means hearken to the proposal, observing, that it was his duty to enlarge the Roman dominions by his victories, and not to increase his own power by the diminution of the Roman territories. Having therefore sent for the ambassadors, he declared to them, that he was willing their master should re-conquer Bithynia and Cappadocia, kingdoms to which the Romans had no right; but that he would not consent he should enter the kingdom of Pergamus, which belonged to the commonwealth, and which he had given up by a solemn treaty. With this answer he dismissed the ambassadors; and when the king heard it, he could not help admiring the magnanimity of Sertorius: "What would not this Roman prescribe to us (said he), if he were at Rome, since, from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, he takes upon him to set bounds to our kingdom, and threatens us with war, in case we should make any attempts upon Asia?" However, the king of Pontus, knowing how advantageous it would prove to his designs to foment the civil war, concluded the treaty upon Sertorius's own terms. The king supplied him with three thousand talents, and a fleet of forty galleys; and Sertorius sent to the king a body of troops, under the command of Marcus Marius, or, as others call him, Marcus Varius, one of the senators who had been proscribed by Sylla.

Sertorius's magnanimity and love for his country.

Sertorius enters into an alliance with Mithridates.

While Mithridates was employed in making prodigious preparations for war in Asia, and Sertorius in Spain, P.

. Plat. in Sert. Cic. pro Lege Manilia, & pro Murena. Liv. lib. xciii. Appian. in Mithridatic. Oros. lib. vi. cap. 2.

Ser-

P. Servilius takes Isauræ.

Servilius, with the title of proconsul, cleared the coasts and seas of the pirates who infested them, took Isauræ their capital (C), and was honoured with the surname of Isauricus, and with a triumph for his success. Next year Licinius Lucullus and Aurelius Cotta were chosen consuls. The former, by paying his court to a mistress of Cethegus, one of the tribunes of the people, obtained the command of the troops that were to be sent into Cilicia. His colleague was appointed to command the fleet that was to guard Bithynia against the invasion threatened by Mithridates; but before he sailed he procured an unlimited commission for M. Antonius, the father of the triumvir, which was that of guarding all the sea-coasts subject to the republic. He set out with great confidence in quest of the pirates, and engaged them off the island of Crete; but he had the mortification to see most of his ships taken, and his men hanged to the masts with the chains which he had prepared for the enemy. This fight affected him so much, that in a few days he died of grief^b.

M. Antonius defeated by the pirates.

The cities of Paphlagonia submit to Mithridates.

Mean while Cotta, arriving in Bithynia, found Mithridates in motion, at the head of a powerful army. All the cities of Paphlagonia opened their gates to him, imagining that, in submitting to him, they submitted to the authority of Rome, because Marius, whom Sertorius had sent into Asia in quality of proconsul, always marched before the king's troops, attended by his lictors with their fasces. The Bithynians likewise would have readily revolted, had not Julius Cæsar, who had retired to Rhodes upon the news of their motions, crossed over to the continent, raised troops without any commission, and driving the king's emissaries out of the country, kept the cities, which were ready to revolt, steady to their duty. This was the first essay of this commander, who, though only twenty-four years of age, already equalled the oldest generals in prudence and bravery^c. The consul Cotta, being defeated in a sea-engagement by the fleet of Mithridates, was forced to take refuge in Chalcedon, where he was closely besieged; but his colleague Lucullus, march-

^b Cic. act. ii. in Verr. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 7. Liv. lib. xciv.

^c Suet. in Julio, cap. 4. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 42.

(C) Isauræ, called afterwards Isauropolis, and now Saura, was the capital of Isauria, a country of Asia Minor, comprehending part of Mount Taurus, and the mountains between Cilicia, Lycæonia, and Pamphylia.

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ing to his relief, forced Mithridates to retire. The king went from thence to besiege Cyzicus; but was obliged by Lucullus to drop that enterprize, after having lost the greatest part of his army, which, when he sat down before the place, consisted of thirty thousand men. The Roman, encouraged by this success, took several places from the enemy, and ended the campaign by a complete victory over the king's fleet, as we have related in our history of Pontus.

The success of Lucullus against Mithridates.

The republic was no less successful in Spain than in Asia. The senators, and other patricians, who served under Sertorius, thinking they could now oppose the enemy without his assistance, began to be jealous of his glory. They were headed by Perperna, who was continually inveighing, both in private and in public, against Sertorius and his senate. That ambitious patrician formed a plot for his ruin, and drew into the conspiracy several officers, pretending, that Sertorius slighted the Romans, and confided only in the Lusitanians. The conspirators, not daring at first to make any attempt upon his life, because of the affection the Lusitanians bore him, did all that lay in their power to alienate their minds from him, and secretly destroy his interest. With this view, the governors of the cities abused the inhabitants, punished them with the utmost severity, and loaded them with taxes, pretending, that all this was done by the express order of Sertorius. In consequence of this oppression several cities revolted, and great disturbances were raised all over Lusitania. Sertorius sent persons, in whom he thought he could confide, to appease the mutineers; but those being gained over by his enemies, proved traitors, and, instead of mitigating the resentment of the people by gentle methods, exasperated them with an unseasonable severity, and left them at their departure more obstinate, and more than ever inclined to revolt. This defection incensed Sertorius to such a degree, that he caused some of the children of the Lusitanians, who were educated at Osca, to be put to death, and sold others for slaves: the only instance of cruelty and injustice which the author of Sertorius's life can lay to his charge *.

A conspiracy against Sertorius.

His severity to the Spanish hostages.

The base Perperna increased the number of the conspirators, and amongst others, drew in Manlius, one of the chief officers of the army. This Manlius, having con-

The conspirators agree to assassinate him.

* Plut. in Sert.

ceived a shameful passion for a young Roman, disclosed to him the whole conspiracy, telling him, that he should soon be at the head of the army. The youth discovered to one Aufidus, what he had learnt of Manlius; as Aufidus was one of the conspirators, and knew not that Manlius was engaged in the plot, he slighted what the youth said; but when the young Roman named Perperna, Gracinus, Q. Fabius, Tarquinius, Sertorius's two secretaries, and several others, whom Aufidus knew were concerned in the plot, he went immediately to Perperna, gave him notice of the danger they were in, and solicited him immediately to put their design in execution. Accordingly Perperna, with the consent of all the other conspirators, agreed to assassinate Sertorius that day, at an entertainment, to which none but he and the conspirators should be invited. As it was no easy matter to engage him in a party of pleasure, they had recourse to artifice, and provided a messenger, who brought to him feigned letters, giving him notice of a signal victory obtained by one of his lieutenants over Pompey and Metellus. He was so well pleased with these news, that he readily came into the proposal of the perfidious Perperna, and promised to pass the evening with him, and his friends, in mirth and jollity.

Yr. of Fl.

2275.
Ante Chr.

73.
U. C. 675.

After he had returned thanks to the gods for the pretended success, he went to Perperna's quarters, to rejoice with him upon the victory. At all entertainments, where Sertorius was present, great order and decency were observed; for they all knew, that he could not bear any loose and indecent discourses: but, in the midst of this entertainment, the conspirators, pretending to be warmed with wine, began to talk very loosely, on purpose to provoke their general. Sertorius, offended at their indecent and disrespectful behaviour, changed his posture, and, leaning backward, pretended not to hear nor regard them. Then Perperna, taking a cup full of wine, let it fall, as he was drinking, out of his hand, which was the signal agreed on. Upon this Antonius, who was next to Sertorius, drew his poinard, and wounded him. The brave general strove to raise himself; but Antonius, throwing himself upon his breast, held both his hands; so that, without being able to defend himself, he lay exposed to the fury of the rest of the conspirators, who deprived him of life. Sertorius was, without contradiction, one of the greatest soldiers the republic had ever bred. Pompey, who had filled all Italy, Sicily, and Africa, with the
fame

His death.

fame of his exploits, gained nothing in Spain, so long as Sertorius lived, but shame and disgrace. Upon his death, the treacherous Perperna took upon him the command of the army; but soon made it appear, that he understood no more how to command, than to obey; for Pompey, who had continued for some time inactive in a corner of Hither Spain, no sooner heard of Sertorius's death, than he left the place of his retreat, marched against Perperna, gained an easy and complete victory over him, and took the traitor prisoner.

*Perperna
defeated
and taken.*

As Perperna had seized on all the papers of Sertorius, he offered to shew Pompey letters from the greatest men in Rome, inviting him into Italy; but Pompey ordered the perfidious wretch to send him all the papers and writings sealed up. He no sooner received them than they were burnt, unopened, in the presence of all the officers of his army; and, immediately after, ordered Perperna to be put to death, lest he should name any of Sertorius' correspondents, and by these means give occasion to new disturbances. As to the rest of the conspirators, some of them were taken, and put to death by Pompey's order; others fled into Africa, where they were murdered by the Mauritanians. In a short time, not one of them was left alive, except Aufidus, who, not being a person of consequence, died many years after in an obscure village of Spain, in extreme poverty¹. The death of Perperna put an end to the war, which had employed the greatest generals, and the best forces of the republic, almost ten years. Pompey, though he gained little reputation by this expedition, yet had the glory of ending it successfully. He continued some time in Spain, to reduce the rebellious cities, and then returned with his army into Italy.

*Perperna
put to
death.*

*The war of
Spain end-
ed.*

When the rebellion in Spain was extinguished, a new storm arose in the heart of Italy. In the consulate of Terentius Varro and Cassius Varus, some slaves of Capua took up arms, and, under the conduct of Spartacus, a Thracian gladiator of uncommon abilities, first defeated the Capuan militia, and afterwards Claudius Pulcher, a Roman prætor, at the head of three thousand men. These successful beginnings so raised the reputation of Spartacus, that he soon saw himself at the head of ten thousand men, whom he led against the prætor Vatinus, and defeated him entirely. He then marched into Cisalpine Gaul, with a design to give his troops, who were

Yr. of Fl.
2276.
Ante Chr.
72.
U. C. 676.

*War of the
Slaves.*

¹ Plut. in Sert. & Pomp.

mostly Gauls, an opportunity of returning into their own country; for he found them ungovernable, and therefore incapable of carrying on a war ^m.

*Spartacus
defeats both
the consuls.*

Next year, when Gellius Poplicola and Cornelius Lentulus were consuls, Cnixus, one of the chiefs of the Gaulish slaves, separated from Spartacus, and marched back into Apulia, where he was attacked, and cut in pieces with his whole army, by the consul Gellius, and the proconsul Anius. Upon the news of this defeat, Spartacus, who was in Cisalpine Gaul, in order to pass the Alps, and take shelter among the Transalpine Gauls, turned back, and, falling upon the consul Lentulus, who pursued him, gained a complete victory. Then he marched in quest of the consul Gellius, defeated his victorious army, and obliged both him and his troops to shelter themselves behind the walls of their cities. Never was the proud republic more humbled. Her two consuls, and her invincible legions, were forced to fly, in a shameful manner, before a Thracian, a gladiator, and a slave. Spartacus would not give quarter to any of the Roman prisoners, but, in honour of Cnixus, sacrificed them round his funeral pile. As his army now consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand men, all fugitive slaves, he ravaged most of the provinces of Italy, without the least opposition; then he returned into Lucania, posted himself on the mountains near Thurii, and erected magazines in that city for the support of his numerous army ⁿ.

*Crassus
sent against
Spartacus.*

In the following year, when Aufidius Orestes and Lentulus Sura were consuls, the senate gave the conduct of the war against the rebellious gladiators to Licinius Crassus, one of the chief commanders of Sylla's party, who had a great share in most of his victories. Crassus, having raised in a few days six legions, detached Mummius, one of his lieutenants, with two of them, to watch the enemy's motions, while he advanced with the rest of the army. The rash lieutenant no sooner discovered the enemy than he drew up his troops in battalia, and challenged Spartacus, contrary to the express orders of his general. The Thracian accepted the challenge, and put the Romans to flight at the first onset. Crassus soon after arrived; and, having reprimanded Mummius in the severest terms, caused five hundred legionaries, who had retired at the approach of the enemy, to be decimated;

^m Plut. in Crass. Appian. Bell. Civ. lib. i. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 20. Oros. lib. v. cap. 24.

ⁿ Idem ibid.

which reasonable severity made him as much respected by his troops as he had been formerly beloved.

Soon after this transaction, falling in with a body of ten thousand rebels, who were laying waste the country, he cut off their retreat, and put them all to the sword. Spartacus, after a fruitless attempt to pass over to Sicily, posted himself in a peninsula near Rhegium. There Crassus shut him in with a ditch, from one sea to the other, three hundred furlongs long, fifteen feet broad, and as much in depth. Spartacus, taking the opportunity of a stormy night, filled up part of the ditch, forced his way through the enemy's army, and encamped again in the open country. Crassus was afraid, that he would march directly to Rome; but he was freed from this apprehension, when he saw a great body of the rebellious slaves, upon some discontent, revolt from Spartacus, and encamp by themselves. These Crassus attacked without loss of time, and defeated them, after a long and obstinate dispute. Twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy were killed upon the spot, of which number only two were found wounded in the back; all the rest died fighting in their ranks with incredible bravery. After this defeat, Spartacus retired towards the mountains of Petilia; but his men, encouraged by a slight advantage gained over two of Crassus's officers, obliged him to march back, and lead them against the Romans. This presumption was what Crassus impatiently desired, being informed by his friends at Rome, that the people designed to recall him, and give the command of the army to Pompey. He therefore encamped near the enemy, and offered them battle.

Cuts off ten thousand of the rebels.

Bravery of the slaves.

Spartacus could not retreat, as being invested in his camp by Crassus; he therefore drew up his army with all the skill of a great commander. When his horse was brought him before the onset, he drew his sword, and killed him, saying, "If I gain the victory, I shall have a great many better horses; if I lose it, I shall have no need of this." He then began the attack at the head of his infantry. His men, animated by his example, fought with unparalleled bravery. Victory was long doubtful, but at length declared for the Romans. Spartacus, after all his men had fled, resisted alone for a great while, with invincible courage. Being wounded in the leg with a javelin, he fought on his knees, holding his buckler in one hand, and his sword in the other; at last, being pierced with many wounds, he fell upon a heap of Romans, whom

Spartacus defeated and slain.

*Pompey's
vanity in
claiming
the glory of
putting an
end to the
war.*

*Pompey
and Crassus
consuls.*

he had sacrificed to his fury. In this battle, forty thousand of the rebels were killed upon the spot, whereas the Romans lost but a thousand men°. However, the fugitives rallied again, to the number of five thousand, and retired under the conduct of one Publipor into Lucania. Against these Pompey marched, and, having defeated them without difficulty, wrote a letter to the senate, wherein he vainly assumed to himself the glory of having finished the war. "Crassus (said he) has overcome the gladiators in a pitched battle; but I have plucked up the war by the roots." Crassus was highly provoked at Pompey's vanity, which robbed him of the glory he deserved; but nevertheless, as he aspired to the consulship, and knew that it was in Pompey's power to disappoint him in that aim, he dissembled his resentment, and even begged his rival's interest. Pompey, who stood for the same dignity, and had long desired to lay some obligation upon Crassus, readily embraced this opportunity, declaring in open assembly, that he should be as much obliged to his friends for the advancement of Crassus as for his own. Upon this declaration, the tribes unanimously concurred in raising Pompey to the consulate, and giving him Crassus for his colleague. This good understanding between the two rivals did not continue long; Pompey refused to disband the troops he had brought from Spain, till a triumph should be decreed him: Crassus would not part with the command of the army he had led against Spartacus, so long as Pompey continued in arms; but insinuated, that Pompey aspired at absolute power, and intended, after the example of Sylla (D), to govern by a standing army. These dif-

• *Idem ibid. & Frontin. lib. ii. cap. 5.*

(D) Nobody doubted but this was his design; whence Cicero wrote to Atticus in the following words; "Mirandum enim in modum Cneius noster Syllani regni similitudinem concupivit: εἰδώς σοι λέγουσι, nihil ille unquam minus obscure tulit;" that is, "Our friend Pompey is wonderfully desirous of obtaining a power like that of Sylla: I tell you no

more than what I know for certain; for he makes no secret of it (1)." And elsewhere; "Hoc turpe Cneius noster biennio ante cogitavit; ita Syllaturit animus ejus, & proscripturitur;" that is "Pompey has been forming this shameful design for these two years last past; so strongly is his mind bent upon imitating Sylla, and proscribing like him (2).

(1) *Cic. ad Attic. lib. vii. epist. 9.* (2) *Idem ibid. epist. 10.*

courtes

courses greatly exasperated Pompey; and the breach between the colleagues growing wider, the senate and people, to prevent the evil effects of their mutual jealousies, intreated them to disband their armies, and sacrifice their private resentments to the public peace. They both continued obstinate; Crassus pretending, that Pompey ought first to disband his army, since he had first finished the Spanish war; and Pompey protesting, that he would not dismiss his troops, till the arrival of Metellus, who was to join his triumph. The people, dreading to see Rome involved again in a civil war, intreated them, in the most submissive manner, to be reconciled. Neither of them hearkening to the intreaties of the people, a Roman knight, named Ovatus Aurelius, mounting the rostra, gave them an account of a vision he pretended to have seen in his sleep, "Jupiter (said he) appeared to me last night, and admonishes you, O Romans, by my mouth, not to suffer the misunderstanding between the two consuls to continue any longer." When Ovatus had done speaking, the people renewed their intreaties; and then Crassus moved with sentiments of piety, made the first advances, drew near to Pompey, and offered him his hand: Pompey returned the civility; they embraced each other; and soon after disbanded their troops.

As their reconciliation was not sincere, each strove, by different methods, to gain the favour of the people. Pompey basely made his court to the multitude, by reinstating the tribunes in their ancient power, a measure which greatly contributed to the destruction of the commonwealth. He likewise engaged M. Aurelius Cotta to move, that some Roman knights might be appointed to be his assessors, and to judge with him in civil causes. Thus the right of judging private causes, which had been taken from the knights by Sylla, was, by means of Pompey, restored to them; a favour which engaged that powerful order to support him in all his pretensions with their interest. Crassus, to supplant his rival in the esteem of the people, entertained them with surprising profusion and magnificence at ten thousand tables, and at the same time distributed corn enough to all the populace to maintain their families three whole months. Such prodigious largesses will seem less surprising, if we consider, that Crassus was the richest man in Rome. His estate amounted to seven thousand talents and upwards, that is, to

*Pompey
and Crassus
affect popu-
larity.*

1,356,250 l. sterling. Notwithstanding this largess, Pompey still maintained the first place in the affections and esteem of the multitude¹. This year the censorship, which had been suppressed during the civil wars, was revived, L. Gellius Poplicola and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus being promoted to that dignity. These appointed Q. Catulus prince of the senate, struck the names of sixty-four ancient senators out of the list, and made a census, in which they found, that the number of Roman citizens fit to bear arms amounted to four hundred and fifty thousand.

The consulate of Pompey and Crassus being expired, the republic raised to the fasces the famous orator Q. Hortensius, and Q. Metellus the son of Metellus Dalmaticus. As all was calm at Rome during their administration, Pompey no longer interfered in public affairs, neither frequenting the bar as he had done formerly, nor the assemblies of the people. He seldom appeared in public; and when he did, was always attended by a great number of clients, desiring to keep up the respect due to him, as a man of superior rank and merit. He even thought it beneath him to converse with the generality of the nobility, and therefore associated only with a few select friends². In the following year the tribes raised L. Cæcilius Metellus and Q. Marcius, surnamed Rex, to the consulate. The former died before he entered upon his office, and another, whose name has not been transmitted to us, was chosen in his room. He also dying soon after his election, the people superstitiously took it for granted, that it was the pleasure of the gods that the republic should be governed one whole year by Marcius alone. During his administration, the senate, pretending that the Cretans had sided with Mithridates, and given a retreat to the pirates, sent Q. Cæcilius Metellus with a fleet to reduce that island. Of this expedition we have given an account in our history of Crete.

*The island
of Crete re-
duced.*

In the following consulate of C. Calpurnius Piso and M. Acilius Glabrio, Gabinus, tribune of the people, at the instigation of Pompey, who began to be weary of a retired life, proposed a law for clearing the seas of the pirates, whose numbers and power daily increased. These robbers fitted out at first but a small number of light vessels; but upon their being protected by Mithridates, who, during his war with Rome, took them into his service,

¹ Plut. in Crasso. Cic. de Legib. lib. iii Sallust. in Bell. Catilin. ² Plut. ibid.

they equipped a thousand galleys, and exercised a kind of sovereignty over all the coasts of the Mediterranean. *The seas infested by pirates.* They spared not one temple that was famous for its riches on the coasts of Italy, Greece, and Asia. All the country-seats on the sea-shore fell a prey to them. They took slaves without number; blocked up all the ports of the republic, pillaged the city of Caieta; sunk part of a consular fleet at Ostia, and having made a descent near Misene, carried away the daughter of the old consul Antonius, with several other persons of distinction. They even surprised and carried off two Roman prætors, Sextilius and Bellinus, in their purple robes, with their lictors and attendants. If any of the captives declared himself a Roman, the Barbarians, in derision, threw themselves at his feet, begging his pardon, and imploring his protection. After they had insolently sported with their prisoner, they often dressed him in a toga; and then, casting out a ship's ladder, desired him to return home, and wished him a good journey; if he refused to leap into the sea, they threw him overboard, saying, they would not keep a free-born Roman in captivity. The greatest calamity the world suffered by these tyrants was the scarcity of provisions which they occasioned, not in Europe only, but in Asia and Africa; for no vessel could put to sea without being taken*. Gabinus, who proposed a law for clearing the seas of these pirates, was applauded for his zeal, though he had nothing in view but to procure new honours for Pompey, who had restored the college of tribunes to their former authority. In virtue of the law which Gabinus *The Gabinian law.* proposed, the person to whom the Roman people and senate should commit the management of this war (for the crafty tribune did not name Pompey) was to have a power without restriction. His authority was to extend over the seas within the Streights, or the Pillars of Hercules, and over the countries for the space of four hundred furlongs from the sea. By the same law he was impowered to raise as many mariners and soldiers as he should think fit, to take what sums he pleased out of the public treasury, without being accountable for them, and to choose out of the senate fifteen senators to be his lieutenants, and to execute his orders where he could not be present in person. As this arbitrary and unbounded authority was to continue three years, it occasioned much uneasiness to the senate. They saw through the tribune's design, and

* Plut. in Pomp. Appian. Mithridat. Elor. lib. iii. cap. 6.

divers senators reproached Pompey with aiming at the sovereignty of Rome; and the consul Calpurnius told him, that if he followed the footsteps of Romulus he would scarce avoid his fate. The fathers, finding the people determined to pass the law, had recourse to their old method of disconcerting the measures of the tribunes, and gained two of them, Trebellius and Roscius[†].

As it was generally believed that this extensive commission, which the tribune Gabinus called the proconsulate of the seas, was designed for Pompey, when the day appointed for holding the comitia came, in which the Gabinian law was to be received or rejected, the tribune Trebellius attempted to oppose it; but the tribes threatening to depose him, he was forced to be silent. Then Catulus, prince of the senate, made a long speech, which was nothing more than a panegyric upon Pompey. He advised the people not to expose a man of his value, the greatest general of the republic, to so many dangers; "for if you should lose him (said he), where could you find another Pompey? or whom would you put in his place?" The people, who had listened to the venerable senator with great attention, cried out, "You, Catulus, we will put you in his place." Catulus, no longer able to resist the resolution of the people, and pleased with the esteem they shewed for him, waved his opposition and withdrew. Then the tribune Roscius attempted to speak, but being prevented by the clamours of the people, he held up two of his fingers, to signify, that he was for dividing that extensive commission between two persons, and not entrusting Pompey alone with such an unlimited authority. Upon this intimation the assembly made such an outcry, that a crow flying accidentally over the comitium at that instant, was stunned, and dropped down among the people". Hortensius, and several other senators, spoke with great eloquence, and were heard with attention; but their harangues made no impression on the multitude. Cicero remained silent, though so fine an opportunity offered of displaying his talents. He did not chuse to make Pompey, the senate, or the people, his enemies. The day being spent in speeches and debates, the determination was postponed to the next, when Gabinus's motion was agreed to by a great majority, and Pompey appointed to make war upon the pirates with the title of proconsul. The people granted him even more than the tribune had

Yr. of Fl.

3282.

Ante Chr.

66.

U. C. 682.

[†] Plut. in Pomp. Dio Cass. lib. lvi.

[‡] Plut. in Pomp.

desired;

fired; for they allowed him to equip five hundred ships, to raise a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and to choose out of the senate twenty or twenty-five senators for his lieutenants. He had also two quæstors allowed, and six thousand Attic talents paid down to him before he left Rome.

The Gabinian law passed.

On this occasion he behaved with integrity, and gained more glory than he had acquired by all his former exploits. He conducted the expedition with such prudence, and took such measures, that instead of the three years allowed him, he cleared the seas in four months, after having taken or sunk, according to some, one thousand three hundred, according to others, eight hundred and forty-six of their vessels, destroyed ten thousand of the pirates, and reduced a hundred and twenty towns or castles on the coasts, which they had seized. In this expedition the proconsul set at liberty an incredible number of captives, and took above twenty thousand prisoners, whom he sent to people the deserted cities of Cilicia, namely, Mallus, Adana, Epiphania; and Soli, which latter he called from his own name Pompeiopolis.

He extirpates the pirates.

No sooner did the news of Pompey's victories reach Rome, than Manilius, tribune of the people, proposed a new law in his favour, importing, that Lucullus should be recalled from Asia, where he was waging war with Mithridates and Tigranes; that the conduct of the armies employed against those two princes should be committed to Pompey; that Cilicia, where Marcius Rex commanded, and Bithynia, which had been allotted to Acilius Glabrio, should be resigned to him; and that he should retain the same naval forces and sovereignty of the seas as before. This was, in effect, appointing him absolute monarch of all the Roman dominions; for the provinces, exempted from his authority by the former decree, such as Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Colchis, and Armenia, would by this new law be included within his province. This was the famous law, which, from its author, was styled the Manilian Law. When the tribune proposed it in the comitia, it raised such disturbances among the nobility and the zealous republicans, as are not easily described. They looked upon it as a measure calculated for establishing tyranny: "We have then got at last (said they) a sovereign; the republic is changed into a monarchy; the services of Lucullus, the honour of Glabrio and

The Manilian law.

▼ Appian. & Plut. *ibid.* cap. 31. Cic. *pro Lege Manilia.* Vell. Patern. lib. ii.

Marcus, two zealous and worthy senators, are to be sacrificed to the promotion of Pompey: Sylla never carried his tyranny so far.

The cowardice of the senate.

They encouraged one another to use their utmost efforts in opposition to so scandalous a decree, and not to part with their liberty in so tame a manner: but notwithstanding the resolution they shewed in private, when the day came for the accepting or rejecting the Manilian law, only Hortensius and Catulus had courage to speak against it. The latter made surprising efforts to dissuade the people from investing one man with absolute power; he reproached them with their injustice to Lucullus, described in pompous terms his glorious exploits both by sea and land, and enumerated the many evils which they had reason to apprehend from an unbounded authority. Finding the people heard him with great indifference, and grew uneasy at his discourse, he directed his speech to the senate, and raising his voice, "Let us fly (said he), conscript fathers, let us fly to some mountain, as our forefathers have done; let us fly to some rocks, where we may shelter ourselves from the slavery with which we are threatened."

Cicero and Cæsar favour Pompey.

Two great men spoke in favour of the law, namely, Cicero and Cæsar: the former aimed at the consulate, which Pompey's party could more easily procure him than that of Catulus and the senate. On this occasion he made that speech, which is still preserved, and will be the admiration of all ages. Cæsar was delighted to see the people insensibly lose that republican spirit, and love of liberty, which might one day obstruct the designs he had already formed. Thus was the public interest sacrificed to private views. The decree passed by the suffrages of all the tribes; and the people voluntarily conferred on Pompey as extensive an authority as Sylla had usurped by force. He was still on the coasts of Asia, when news were brought him of the extraordinary power with which the people had vested him. He received it with an affected modesty and reluctance: "What! (said he), will Rome then burden me with a new war? Must I never have any rest? Must I sacrifice to the desires of my country the pleasures of a retired life, and the enjoyment of a beloved wife? Happy, thrice happy are those who live in the inglorious croud, unknown, and unregarded!" Plutarch observes, that his most zealous friends were dis-

Pompey's dissimulation and hypocrisy.

* Plut. in Pomp. Dio, lib. xxxvi. Liv. lib. c. Vell. Paternul. lib. ii. cap. 33. Cic. pro Lege Manilia.

pleased

pleased with such gross hypocrisy, well knowing what steps he had taken to procure this new commission. Lucullus, seeing himself thus degraded, returned to Rome, where he was received by the nobility with all possible marks of esteem, and honoured with a magnificent triumph. Pompey pursued the war against Mithridates and Tigranes with great success, and performed those exploits in Pontus, Albania, and Iberia, which we have described in the history of Pontus.

While Pompey was extending the dominions of the republic in Asia, some wicked citizens were contriving her ruin at home. At the head of these was Lucius Sergius Catiline, descended of an illustrious patrician family, but rendered infamous by a series of debaucheries, incests, murders, and the most horrible crimes. He is said to have debauched, when he was very young, a woman of distinction, and to have afterwards married the daughter he had by her. He was likewise accused of maintaining an unlawful correspondence with Fabia Terentia, the Vestal, sister to Terentia, Cicero's wife. He had committed many murders, and had been, in the time of Sylla's proscriptions, the most merciless minister of that tyrant's fury. The favour of the dictator, his birth and courage, raised him to the principal dignities of the republic: he had been quæstor, lieutenant in several armies, and had governed Africa in quality of prætor; but in all these employments, he had dishonoured himself by his debaucheries, and enormous oppressions. As he had dissipated his patrimony, and was overloaded with debts, he had no prospect of retrieving his affairs but by the subversion of the state: he therefore seized all opportunities of raising disturbances; and one offered soon after his return from Africa, where he had been prætor.

Catiline's character.

P. Antronius Pætus, and P. Cornelius Sylla the son of the dictator's brother, being chosen consuls, and afterwards disqualified upon being convicted of having purchased the suffrages of the people, Catiline prevailed upon them to enter into a plot against Aurelius Cotta and Manlius Torquatus, the consuls who were chosen in their room. His scheme was to assassinate them both, murder the greatest part of the senators, and seize the government. Besides Antronius and Sylla, he engaged many young men, who were undone by their excesses, and among the rest Cn. Calpurnius Piso, a youth of a noble family, but rash, factious, and reduced almost to beggary. This wicked attempt was to be put in execution on the calends

Conspires against the consuls and senate.

lends

*His 'conspiracy de-
feated.*

lends of January, when the new consuls took possession of their office. The conspirators, not having found a convenient opportunity that day, put off the affair to the nones of February, the day appointed for the usual meeting of the senate. This second attempt proved as unsuccessful as the first. Catiline gave the signal at an improper time, before the conspirators were assembled, so that nobody offered to stir, by which the lives of the consuls and senators were saved, and the most execrable conspiracy, which had been formed since the foundation of Rome, miscarried. However, Catiline did not drop his design; but we shall leave him, to observe the conduct of another young Roman, who had also designed to subvert the constitution, but took more prudent and better concerted measures for executing his purpose.

*Julius Cæsar capti-
vates the
hearts of
the people.*

This was Julius Cæsar, who, having passed through the offices of legionary tribune and quæstor, was this year raised to the ædileship, in which employment he entirely gained the affections of the people. Nothing could be more engaging than his behaviour; his liberality knew no bounds, and the magnificence of his furniture and entertainments surpassed any thing that had been seen in Rome. He was naturally of a generous disposition, and is said to have owed above one thousand three hundred talents, that is, two hundred fifty-one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five pounds sterling, before he entered upon any of the public offices. The immense sums he bestowed upon the populace gave no umbrage to his enemies, who used so remark, that it was a shew which would end with his estate, and then he would be reduced to the state of a common citizen.

*He repairs
the Appian
Way.*

As the office of ædile confined him to Rome, he undertook to repair the Appian Way, and finished that great work almost at his own expence. He entertained the people with a shew of three hundred and twenty couple of gladiators, and built porticos of timber with seats all round the forum, that the populace might see, without any inconvenience, the Megalesian games, which were exhibited at Rome, during his ædileship. By these means he so captivated the people, that they were now as much, if not more, devoted to him than to Pompey. Depending upon the favour of the people, he made a funeral oration in praise of his aunt Julia, though she was the widow of Marius, whose name was odious to the senate and no-

bility; and was even so bold as to bring forth the images of Marius, which no person had presumed to produce since the government first devolved into Sylla's hands. The nobility exclaimed against him for reviving the memory of one who had been declared an enemy to his country; but the people applauded the action; and this applause encouraged him to erect in the night-time the statues and trophies of Marius, which Sylla had ordered to be taken down. Next morning the people crowded to see them, and many of Marius's party wept for joy at sight of his statues and trophies; but the nobility inveighed against Cæsar, as if he had designs upon the government, and Catulus accused him before the senate, of aiming at the same tyrannical power which Marius had usurped. He closed his speech with this remarkable saying: "Cæsar no longer undermines the government, but openly plants his batteries against it." The accused answered Catulus with so much art and temper, that he was not only acquitted, but applauded by the people, as a relation worthy of Marius. Cæsar, thus become the idol of the people, prevailed upon them to confer the consular dignity on L. Julius Cæsar, one of his own family, though of another branch. The colleague the republic gave him was C. Marcius Figulus, a man of a mild disposition, and an enemy to all factions and parties. During their administration, many of Sylla's partizans were by Cæsar's influence condemned, some to perpetual banishment, others to death, for the murders they had committed during the dictator's usurpation. Among the latter was L. Bellienus, uncle to Catiline; but Catiline was spared, though he had been the chief instrument of Sylla's fury*. He was a friend to Cæsar, and is said to have communicated to him his wicked design of subverting the government. Of this horrible conspiracy the ancients give us the following account.

Catiline having strengthened his party with a great number of senators and knights, waited only for an opportunity of putting it in execution. Among his accomplices in the senate were P. Lentulus Sura, P. Antonius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, Publius and Servius Sylla, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læca, L. Bestia, and Q. Curius; and among the knights, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinus Capito, and C. Cornelius. We are told, that M. Licinius Cras-

Yr. of Fl.
2284.
Ante Chr.
64.
U. C. 684.

*Catiline's
conspiracy.*

* Plut. in Cæsar. Sallust. Bell. Catilin.

ses was also privy to the plot, and that Caesar favoured it secretly. But these are no other than suspicions; and it is very certain that Crassus was one of the persons who discovered the conspiracy to Cicero. Besides the above mentioned senators and knights, Catiline drew into the plot all the debauched youth of Rome; and likewise some of the old soldiers and officers of Sylla's army, who, after having consumed all the rewards of their former services in debaucheries, longed for a new civil war, as the only remedy against want and poverty.

The conspiracy discovered to Cicero.

The designs of such men as were continually rioting, could not long remain secret. Cicero was informed of them by Fulvia, a woman of distinction, who dishonoured her family by a criminal correspondence with Quintus Curius, one of the conspirators. To her this young debauchee discovered the conspiracy. Whether Fulvia was really struck with the danger of the republic, or thought the undertaking would not succeed, as being managed in great part by young people, she made a discovery of all she had heard to Cicero, but concealed the name of the person who had given her that intelligence. This discovery Cicero, who then stood for the consulship, and had Catiline for his competitor, made use of to get himself chosen, and Catiline excluded. The colleague given him by the tribes was C. Antonius, a man naturally lazy, a lover of ease and pleasure. As he was a man of little weight, and easily managed, Cicero flattered himself, that he should be able to get the ascendant over him, and govern as he pleased. They no sooner entered upon office, than P. Servilius Rullus, tribune of the people, endeavoured to revive the former disputes about the distribution of the conquered lands. He was vigorously opposed by Cicero, who prevailed upon the people to sacrifice their private interest to the public tranquillity. The cause of the public disturbances being removed, the new consul applied himself next to draw off his colleague from the faction of the tribunes, and succeeded by changing provinces, and resigning to him the government of Macedon, which by lot was fallen to himself, and taking that of Gaul, which was less profitable, and had fallen to Antonius. After this exchange, he made it his chief business to prevent any popular disturbance. One had like to have been raised in the theatre, on account of the new distinction which the tribune Otho had given to the Roman knights, allotting to them, in all public shews, the fourteen first ranks after those of the senators; but Cicero interposed, and harangued the people

Cicero's counsellorship.

ple with such strength and success, that they willingly complied with Otho's regulation. By these means he stifled a sedition in its birth ^a.

Catiline, grown outrageous at Cicero's success, resolved to stand once more for the consulate, and prepared for an open rebellion, in case he should not succeed. He borrowed large sums of money, which were lodged in the hands of Manlius, a soldier of fortune, who had served with great reputation under Sylla, and at that time resided at Fæsulæ in Etruria. As that city was a colony of Sylla's soldiers, Manlius, who had great interest, engaged them in the plot, and made considerable levies throughout all Etruria. Lucullus, whom Pompey had succeeded in the East, being informed of these preparations, made a report of what he had heard to the senate, and assisted the consul with all his interest in the prosecution of the traitor. Cicero kept up a correspondence with Fulvia, and even gained over some of the conspirators, who, pursuant to his directions, pretended to be the warmest promoters of the plot. It was by their means that he discovered the designs of Catiline, the various sentiments of his accomplices, their number and quality, and the general, as well as the private views of each of the conspirators. By them he was informed, that on a day appointed the conspirators were to set fire to several parts of the city; that during the confusion and uproar, which so general a conflagration would occasion, some were to murder the chief men of the senate in their houses, others to assemble the mutinous populace, seize the Capitol, and fortify themselves there, till Manlius should arrive from Etruria with his veterans. Two Roman knights were appointed to murder Cicero in his own house; but the consul, informed of all that passed in their assembly, summoned the senate, and boldly informed the fathers, in Catiline's presence, of the danger to which they were all exposed.

Preparations made by Catiline for an open revolt.

He communicated to them the whole plot; and though he did not think proper to name those by whom he had been informed, yet the senate by a public decree ordered the consuls to take care that the republic suffered no detriment; an ancient form, by which the magistrates had almost an unbounded authority conferred on them. Cicero, invested with such an ample power, dispatched, without delay, some of the worthiest senators to the prin-

The consuls vested with extraordinary power.

^a Plut. in Cic. Cic. in Rall. & Pison. Sallust. Bell. Catilin.

cipal cities in Italy, to keep them in awe. At the same time he placed guards in different parts of Rome, to prevent mischief from the incendiaries. By his advice, the senate promised not only a pardon, but ample rewards to any of the conspirators who should make farther discoveries of this detestable attempt. Not a man, of so great a number of profligates, appeared as an evidence against his accomplices. The consul might, indeed, upon his own knowledge, have made use of the power the senate had given him, and condemned Catiline and his adherents to death without appeal; but as this was a dangerous step, he thought it more adviseable to induce Catiline to leave Rome, and take refuge in Manlius's camp near Fæfulæ.

Cicero harangues the people against Catiline.

With this view he assembled the fathers, and Catiline appearing as if he had been no-way concerned in the conspiracy, those senators, near whom he came to seat himself, quitting their places, left him quite alone. Cicero, no longer able to conceal his indignation, first read certain letters, which had been put into his hand by Licinius Crassus; and then, directing his speech to Catiline, made that oration which is still admired by all men of taste and judgement. Catiline heard his speech with the most artful dissimulation, and even had the assurance to intreat the fathers, not to suffer themselves to be prejudiced against him by the calumnies of his inveterate enemy, a new man, who had not in Rome so much as a house of his own, and who had forged a conspiracy in order to raise himself, and acquire the title of Defender of his Country: he added, that Cicero laughed in private at their credulity, and the false alarms he had given them. When he proceeded to invectives against the consul, he was interrupted by the whole assembly; and the senate-house echoed with the names of incendiary, parricide, and enemy to his country. Catiline, stung with these reproaches, and foaming with rage, cried out, "Since you have provoked me to the utmost, I will not perish alone, but will have the satisfaction of involving those who have sworn my ruin in the same destruction with myself." So saying, he instantly left the senate, and sent for Cethegus, Lentulus, and other chief conspirators. He gave them an account of what had just happened in the senate; made them sensible that he could no longer stay in Rome with safety; encouraged them to embrace the first opportunity of setting fire to the city, of assassinating the senators, and above all, of destroying the

the consul, the only man who could render their designs abortive. He told them, that he was going to put himself at the head of the forces which Manlius had raised for him in Hetruria; and that they should soon see him again with such a force, as would strike the boldest of his enemies with terror ^b.

Catiline leaves Rome.

After this conference he set out in great haste for Hetruria, attended by three hundred of his party. His sudden flight gave Cicero great pleasure; but as he was sensible how tender the people were of their privileges, and feared the tribunes might exasperate the populace against him, by suggesting, that he had banished a Roman citizen without consulting them, he next day mounted the rostra, and in his second oration against Catiline, which is still preserved in his works, informed the assembly of the true state of affairs, assuring them with great firmness, that no care or vigilance should be wanting on his part to guard them against impending dangers ^c.

Catiline arriving at Manlius's camp, in the neighbourhood of Fæsulæ, took upon him the command of the troops, and assumed all the marks of a supreme magistrate, being preceded by lictors carrying their axes and fasces. The senate, informed of so open a rebellion, declared Catiline and Manlius enemies to their country. They ordered the consul Antonius to take the field with a proconsular army, and Cicero to continue in Rome, and there watch the motions of the conspirators. At the motion of Cicero a decree was also passed, promising impunity to all those who should abandon Catiline, and return to Rome within a limited time; and declaring those guilty of high treason against the state, who should join the traitor. Notwithstanding this decree, great numbers of profligates flocked to him from Rome, and the other cities of Italy. Among others the son of Aulus Fulvius, a venerable senator, set out for the army of the rebels; but his father dispatched messengers after him, who brought him back to Rome; where his father, in virtue of his paternal authority, condemned him to death, and caused his sentence to be immediately put in execution.

Catiline declared an enemy to his country.

Lentulus, and the other chiefs of the conspiracy, endeavoured to draw into the plot the ambassadors of the Allobroges, then at Rome, in order to get assistance from Transalpine Gaul; but the ambassadors imparted the

^b Sallust. *ibid.* Cic. in Catil. Orat. i.
Sallust. *ibid.* Cic. in Catilin. Orat. ii.

^c Plut. in Cic.

whole affair to Q. Fabius Sanga, who was the protector of their nation. This senator, after having made the ambassadors sensible of the danger of the undertaking, brought them to the consul, who prevailed upon them to continue their negotiations with the conspirators, in order to procure by their means undeniable proofs of the conspiracy. Accordingly, the ambassadors made no difficulty to close with the proposals of the conspirators, but insisted on a written treaty as their credentials to their countrymen. This treaty was granted them, signed by the chiefs of the plot; and it was agreed, that they should set out on the third of the nones of December, and take their way through Hetruria, to get the treaty ratified by Catiline. Cicero, being informed by the ambassadors when they were to leave Rome, sent privately two prætors, with a sufficient number of troops, to seize them, together with the conspirators, and bring them all to Rome. The prætors faithfully executed their commission; the ambassadors, together with Vultureius, who had taken upon him to conduct them to Catiline, were stopt at the bridge Milvius, and brought to Rome, with all the papers which either the Allobroges or Vultureius had in their custody.

*The chiefs
of the con-
spiracy
seized.*

Cicero, having in his power undeniable proofs of the conspiracy, sent, without loss of time, proper officers to seize Lentulus, Gabinius, Cethegus, and Statilius, in their houses. These were not sent to the public prisons, but, agreeable to the tenderness of the Roman laws, only committed to the care of some of the most illustrious senators. The consul, upon the deposition of the Allobroges, ordered the house of Cethegus to be searched; and having found there a great quantity of sulphur and tow, with arms of all sorts, he assembled the senate in the temple of Concord. There he produced his evidence, confronted the witnesses with the criminals, and prevailed on Vultureius to discover the secrets of the plot. Cicero, having thus got the proofs he expected, both from the witnesses and criminals, assembled the senate again; when the fathers returned him the thanks he deserved, and acknowledged, that by his wisdom, vigilance, and courage, he had discovered a detestable plot, saved Rome from the flames, and preserved the republic from ruin. Catulus and Cato styled him the Father of his Country; an appellation which had never been given to any Roman before him. L. Gellius moved, that a civic crown should be given the consul; a mark of honour which had never been

*Cicero styl-
ed Father
of his
Country.*

been granted but in camps. After these applauses, the senate entered into a debate concerning the punishment of the criminals; but before they came to any resolution, L. Tarquinius, one of the conspirators, appeared before the fathers, confessed his guilt, and accused M. Licinius Crassus, the richest man in Rome, of being concerned in the conspiracy. The name of Crassus raised a great clamour in the assembly; his friends cried out, that Tarquinius had been suborned; and those very senators who suspected Crassus joined the majority in acquitting him. It was dangerous to provoke a man of his great interest; so that Tarquinius was the only sufferer by his accusation: he was condemned to imprisonment, and enjoined never to mention this affair again, unless it were to discover the person who had suborned him. The senate, after long and warm debates, came to no other resolution, than that the four chief criminals, Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius, should be carried to the public prison, and there kept under close confinement, till the fathers agreed upon the punishment that should be inflicted upon them. During these delays, Cethegus found means to convey letters to his friends and clients, encouraging them to raise the whole party, and try their utmost to rescue them out of prison. Cicero, informed of this design, posted troops on the ramparts, at the gates, and in the cross-ways, and having assembled the senate anew on the nones of December, he exhorted the fathers to come to an ultimate resolution concerning the prisoners. Syllanus, consul elect for the ensuing year, was, according to custom, asked his advice first; and he, without hesitation, declared, that in his opinion they all deserved to die. All who voted after him, were of the same opinion, except T. Nero, and Julius Cæsar. The latter made an artful speech in praise of clemency, which is still extant, and admired as a consummate piece of oratory. He concluded, saying, that in an affair which concerned the lives of citizens, and of the principal patricians in Rome, it was adviseable not to be too hasty in giving judgement; but that they should be well guarded, and kept in some towns of Italy, till Catiline was vanquished. As Cæsar was an excellent orator, his speech made a great impression on the assembly. Most of the senators, and among the rest Syllanus, retracting what he had said, declared for Cæsar's opinion.

Crassus accused and acquitted.

The senate consult about punishing the conspirators.

Cæsar's opinion.

Cato, when it came to his turn to vote, represented in such lively colours the horrible designs of the conspirators,

He is opposed by Cato.

and shewed with so many unanswerable arguments, that Cæsar's clemency was incompatible with the safety of the state, that the whole senate returned to their former opinion, and sentence of death was pronounced against the conspirators without any opposition but from Cæsar only, who, obstinately persisting in his opinion, was so loud, that the guards at the door came into the senate, and thinking him a conspirator, would have killed him, had they not been prevented by Cicero and Curio (A). Cæsar's unseasonable mildness, and management in this whole affair, made most of the senators suspect he was concerned in the plot; but Cicero, who was sensible how great his interest was in Rome, avoided impeaching him with the rest, left by the assistance of his friends and relations, he should not only escape the rigour of the law himself, but should likewise save the rest of the criminals. As Cæsar was going out of the senate, the knights, who were upon duty, turned the points of their naked swords towards him, watching the consul's looks to receive his orders. Cicero made them a sign to let him escape, either for fear of the people, or because he thought him innocent ^d.

He is suspected;

but saved by Cicero.

The conspirators executed.

When the decree for the execution of the criminals was passed, Cicero went directly from the assembly to the prisons, and to prevent a rescue in the night, caused them to be executed at once (B). As he returned home after the execution, he turned to the populace, who crowded about him, and cried out, "Vixerunt, They have lived," an expression then in use among the Romans to avoid saying, "Mortui sunt, They are dead;" *death* and *dead* being words of an ill augury, which conveyed melancholy

^d Sallust. *ibid.* Plut. in Cic. & Cæfare.

(A) There happened a ridiculous adventure during the heat of the contest between Cato and Cæsar. Servilia, Cato's sister, being in love with Cæsar, sent a slave to him with a letter, in which she expressed her affection in the most passionate terms. The slave, who was ordered to deliver the letter into Cæsar's own hands, not finding him at home, brought it to him in the senate. Cato

no sooner saw the letter delivered, than he cried out, that it came from one of the conspirators, and insisted upon its being read to the assembly. Cæsar smiling, gave him the letter; and Cato, after he had perused it, threw it back to him, saying with his usual sourness, "Take it, drunkard (9)."

(B) Excessive fear sometimes produces the effect of extraordinary courage.

(9) Plut. in Cat.

thoughts

thoughts to the mind. The friends and relations of the conspirators, who had resolved to break open the prisons in the night, and rescue them, were thunderstruck, when they heard they were executed, lost all hopes, and immediately dispersed. It is impossible to express the joy of the people, when they heard that the plot was suppressed, and the conspirators punished. They conducted the consul to his house with extraordinary shouts and acclamations. The whole city was illuminated; and men, women, and children, hailed him as he passed, with the appellations of deliverer of his country, and second founder of Rome.

Cicero and Antonius had no sooner yielded the fasces to D. Junius Syllanus and L. Licinius Murena, than Q. Metellus, and L. Bestia, two tribunes of the people, in order to rob Cicero of the honour of putting an end to the rebellion, made a motion for recalling Pompey from Asia to march against Catiline. Cæsar, jealous of Cicero's glory, and growing interest, supported the tribunes; but Cato, with great intrepidity, opposed the motion; nevertheless, the two tribunes and Cæsar raised such a tumult, that Cato was driven from the rostra by violence, and narrowly escaped with his life. However, the tumult was no sooner appeased than the people returned in crowds to the comitium, supported Cato, and prevented Metellus from publishing the edict. When the senate were informed of these violences, they deprived both the tribunes and Cæsar, who was then prætor, of their offices. Metellus left Rome, and set out for Asia to complain to Pompey of the small concern the Roman people shewed for his glory; but Pompey paid little regard to his complaints. Cæsar at first refused to comply with the decree of the senate; but at length, fearing the resentment of the fathers, he laid down his office, and shut himself up in his house. The multitude, who adored him, offered to restore him to his post; but he wisely refused it without the consent of the senate. This moderation was so agreeable to the fathers, that, with many encomiums, they reinstated him in his prætorship.

Disturbances raised by Cæsar, and the tribunes.

During these transactions at Rome, Catiline resolved to lead his army into Transalpine Gaul, where the whole nation seemed ready to declare for him. To prevent this expedition, Q. Metellus Celer, leaving Picenum, which he had guarded the last year, posted himself with three

Antonius marches against Catiline.

• Plut. in Cic.

Z 2

legions

*Catiline
resolves to
give An-
tonius
battle.*

*Antonius
commits the
command
of the army
to Petreius.*

legions at the foot of the Alps; while Antonius, Cicero's colleague, followed Catiline in the rear; so that the rebels were hemmed in by two bodies of troops. In this situation Catiline resolved to attack Antonius, who, as he had been formerly of his faction, seemed to act but faintly against him. With this view he marched back, and meeting the proconsul near the city of Pistoria, now Pistoia, drew up his men in order of battle. In the first line he posted eight cohorts, which were the best armed; in the second the veterans, who had served under Sylla, and in the third his new levies, armed only with knotty clubs, long poles, or the implements of husbandry. Having drawn up his troops, he led them to a great distance from his camp, to shew that he was resolved to give battle. Antonius observed the enemy's motions, but would not stir from his camp, though all the officers of the army pressed him not to let slip the opportunity that offered of putting an end to the rebellion at once. But Antonius would not consent to an engagement; which some historians ascribe to a secret inclination he had for the party which he was ordered to destroy. Whatever were his motives, when the legionaries insisted on being led against the enemy, he pretended to be indisposed, and committed the conduct of his army to Petreius, who had served above thirty years, and raised himself by his merit from a private foldier to the post of lieutenant-general, in which quality he now served under Antonius. The soldiers, not doubting of victory, under so brave and experienced a leader, marched out of their camp in two lines, and fell upon the enemy with a fury hardly to be expressed. The rebels sustained the onset with equal intrepidity and resolution, and being encouraged by the example of their leader, obliged Petreius's first line to give ground; but that brave commander, flying to their relief with a body of fresh men, the rebels were, in their turn, forced to retire in disorder. Catiline, reproaching his men with cowardice, and reminding them of the promise they had made before the battle, either to conquer or die, brought them back to the charge, and renewed the fight with such vigour, that the victory continued doubtful till Manlius, and the officer of Fæsulæ, who commanded the wings, were both killed. Then, Catiline being no longer able to govern so great a body himself, his ranks were broken, and most of his men, especially in the wings, dispersed. In this dilemma, resolving not to outlive the ruin of his party, he threw himself into the

the midst of the enemy, and there found the death which he sought. He no sooner fell than his army fled, leaving Petreius master of the field. That prudent commander would not suffer his men to pursue the fugitives, but allowed them all, as they were for the most part Roman citizens, to escape, and return to their own houses. Of the rebels three thousand were killed on the spot. Catiline was found considerably advanced from his own line, amidst the dead bodies of those he had slain, still breathing, and retaining in his countenance all that ferocity for which his life had been distinguished.

Yr. of Fl.
2286.
Ante Chr.
62.
U. C. 686.

*Catiline de-
feated and
killed.*

Nothing more seemed wanting with regard to the conspiracy than to punish Catiline's accomplices, L. Vettius, a Roman knight, became their accuser, and included Cæsar, now prætor, in the number. Q. Curius likewise accused him to the senate of being one of the chief conspirators, and in proof of his deposition quoted the testimony of Catiline himself, by whom he said he had been told the names of all the conspirators, and particularly that of Cæsar. Vettius offered to produce the accused's own hand-writing, which had been found among Catiline's papers. But Cæsar called upon Cicero to witness the discoveries he had made to him concerning the plot; and Cicero's testimony was his justification. Several decrees were issued against the rest of the conspirators, and such effectual care was taken of the public peace, that in all the provinces, where any seditions had happened, the rebels were suppressed, and the guilty punished.

*Cæsar sup-
posed privy
to the con-
spiracy.*

The pontifex maximus dying, Cæsar was, by the suffrages of the people, advanced to that high station, though Servilius Isauricus and Lutatius Catulus, two of the greatest men of the republic, were his competitors. The joy he felt on this occasion was allayed by his domestic misfortunes. His wife Pompeia, the daughter of Pompeius Rufus, entertained a strong inclination for a young patrician, named P. Clodius. As this youth was infamous for his lewdness and debaucheries, Pompeia could not, without exposing her character, even speak to him in public; at home she was narrowly observed by the virtuous Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, and by his sister Julia, who entertained some suspicions of her. Finding no other opportunity of meeting Clodius, she took advantage of a very solemn feast, which was to be celebrated in her husband's house. It had been customary, ever since the foundation of the republic, to have

*Cæsar cho-
sen pontifex
maximus.*

*P. Clodius
carries on
an intrigue
with Cæ-
sar's wife.*

^f Sallust. in Bell. Cat.

^g Plut. in Cic.

certain religious ceremonies performed, at the end of every consular year, in the house of the consul or prætor: thither the Vestals repaired, and offered a sacrifice to the Good Goddess, whose very name was concealed from the men, and known only to the women. At this sacrifice it was unlawful for any man to assist, nay, it was deemed a sacrilege even for the master of the house, or his children, to be at home while the ceremony was performing. Some writers tell us, that the women, who assisted at the ceremony, carried their superstition so far as to cover the pictures of men and male animals with thick veils. On this solemn day, and in the house set apart for this religious use, Clodius and Pompeia were to meet. Clodius, in order to get admission, was to come in the habit and disguise of a singing-woman, for the solemnity was attended with dancing and music. A female slave, entrusted with the secret, had orders to receive him, and conduct him to his mistress's apartment. Clodius being very young, was by his face and appearance taken for a woman, and readily admitted. The maid, who was in the secret, no sooner saw him than she ran to inform Pompeia; but as she did not return so soon as Clodius expected, he grew uneasy, and not thinking it safe to continue long in the same place, he took several turns in the rooms, avoiding the lights as much as possible, for fear of being discovered.

*Profanes
the myste-
ries of the
Good God-
dess.*

*He is dis-
covered.*

But he was detected by another female servant, who ran shrieking into the rooms where the ceremonies were performing, crying aloud, that she had discovered a man. The women threw a veil over the mysteries, and having ordered the doors to be shut, went in search of the sacrilegious man, whom they found in the apartment of the maid who was privy to the appointment. There he was seized: having driven him out of the house, though it was yet night, they went home to acquaint their husbands with what had happened. Next morning Clodius's impious attempt was the subject of every conversation, and all agreed that he ought to be punished with the utmost severity. Accordingly he was accused of profaning the holy rites; but the populace declared in his favour, so that the judges, fearing to provoke the multitude, acquitted him. Cæsar immediately divorced Pompeia; but being summoned as a witness against Clodius, he said, that he had nothing to charge him with. The accusers asked him, why then he had parted with his wife: "Because (said he) I cannot bear that my wife should be so much as suspected." He declined appearing against Clodius to gratify

*Cæsar di-
vorces his
wife Pom-
peia.*

gratify the populace, who, he saw, were very earnest to save him ^b.

Next year M. Pupius Piso, one of Pompey's lieutenants, was, upon his recommendation, raised to the consulate, and with him M. Valerius Messala. Soon after their election news were brought, that Pompey, after having reduced several kingdoms in the East, was preparing for his return to Rome. Some, fearing he would turn his victorious arms against his country, were for raising troops, and guarding against any attempt of that nature; but he resolved on a conduct very different from what was dreaded, and disbanded his troops as soon as he landed at Brundisium, and proceeded to Rome with a small train, as if he had been returning from a journey of pleasure. He was received with loud acclamations; and demanded a triumph, which was readily granted. The procession lasted two days, and was the most magnificent that had been seen in Rome. Before his chariot marched three hundred and twenty-four captives of great distinction, among whom were Aristobulus king of Judæa, and his son Antigonus; Olthaces, king of Colchis; Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, with his wife and daughter; five sons and two daughters of Mithridates king of Pontus, and a queen of Scythia. The spoils carried before him were valued at above three millions sterling; and the gold and silver coin, which he delivered to the quaestors, amounted to thrice that sum, not reckoning the large donatives which he bestowed on his soldiers; for he ordered one thousand five hundred drachmas to each soldier of his army, that is near fifty pounds sterling, and rewarded all the officers in proportion. He did not put any of the captives to death, according to the practice of other generals, neither did he keep them in prison; but sent them all, except Aristobulus and Tigranes, to their respective countries, at the public expence ^l.

His triumph.

The solemnity was no sooner over than Pompey retired to a private life, declining, from affected modesty, the use of those titles and privileges with which he had been honoured. His aim was to assume a sovereign authority in the state, without appearing to desire it; but he soon found that it was easier to give law to subalterns in a camp, than to govern his equals in a free state without force. There were many who made as great a figure in Rome as him-

He retires.

^b Plut. in Cæfare.

^l Plut. in Pomp. Appian. in Mithridatic. Dio, lib. xxxvii. Plin. lib. vii. cap. 26. & lib. xxxvii. cap. 3.

self, and were ready to oppose the sovereignty at which he aspired. Lucullus, who had paved the way for his conquests in the East, did not think himself inferior to the celebrated conqueror. Crassus had been Pompey's rival ever since he disappointed him of a triumph, by assuming the glory of having ended the war with the slaves. Pompey, indeed, outshone Crassus in glory, but the immense riches of the latter put him upon a level with his adversary. Cato was too zealous for the public good to let Pompey give any wound to the liberty of his country. Cicero was not so disinterested in his views as Cato; but was a good republican, and his eloquence made him formidable. Cæsar, who was, at this time, only beginning his career, was too ambitious to submit to any superior.

However, Pompey had sufficient interest to procure the consulship for L. Afranius and Q. Metellus, who had served under him. They no sooner entered upon their office than he made two attempts, both of which turned to his confusion. His aim was, that lands should be given to his veterans, and that all his acts in the East should be approved by one decree. He made the motion himself; but it was almost unanimously rejected by the fathers, and no senator opposed it with more warmth than the consul Metellus, who had indeed made his court to Pompey in order to raise himself; but hated him for having divorced his sister Mutia(C), which he looked upon as an affront offered to the Cæcilian family. The other consul was a man of no weight, and entirely incapable of business. Pompey, enraged at the refusal of the senate, had recourse to the tribunes, and prevailed upon Flavius Nepos, one of that college, to propose his request to the people; but Lucullus, Cato, and Metellus, opposed the tribune with steadiness and resolution. Their opposition occasioned a tumult in the forum, and the furious tribune ordered Metellus to prison; but Pompey, who was the author of the tumult, fearing to incur the hatred of the senate, ordered the consul to be set at liberty.

He was now convinced that to attempt to reign in a republic otherwise than by force of arms, was a chimerical

(C) Mutia was the third daughter of Q. Mutius Scævola. While her husband was making war in Asia, she carried on an intrigue with Cæsar, which was the common

talk of Rome; insomuch that Pompey did not think proper to wait till he returned to Rome to divorce her; but sent orders to her to leave his house before he returned to Italy.

project;

project; but as he could not conquer his ambition, he made it his whole business to gain over to his interest the seditious Clodius, a declared enemy to the senate. The conqueror of the East humbled himself so far, as to join this profligate patrician, and to use his utmost endeavours to raise him to the tribuneship, though he knew that Clodius's only aim in aspiring at that office was to revenge himself on Cicero, who had appeared as a witness against him when he was accused of having profaned the mysteries of the Good Goddesses. This conduct greatly lessened the high opinion which both the people and the nobility had entertained of him before his return *.

Is convinced of the folly of his scheme.

The government of Farther Spain, which comprehended Lusitania and Bœtica, falling by lot to Cæsar, after his prætorship, he was preparing to set out for his new province; but being stopped by some of his creditors, Crassus undertook to satisfy those creditors, who were impatient, and became security for eight hundred and thirty talents, that is, one hundred sixty thousand eight hundred and twelve pounds sterling. Cæsar being now at liberty, set out for his government without delay. In his journey, as he was crossing the Alps, he passed by a small village, which had few inhabitants, and those wretchedly poor; a circumstance which gave occasion to some of his friends to ask him, by way of raillery, whether there was any canvassing there for offices, or any contention for precedence? To this question Cæsar answered seriously, that he had rather be the first man among those poor Barbarians, than the second in Rome (D). It is easy to imagine, that Cæsar, with these sentiments, could not continue idle in his province. To find himself employment, he made war on the innocent Spaniards, and advancing as far as the ocean, subdued several nations which had never before been subject to Rome.

Cæsar sent into Spain.

His ambition.

Having settled his province in peace, he returned to Rome, with sufficient sums to discharge his debts, which amounted to the enormous sum of one million six hun-

He returns to Rome.

* Plut. ibid. Cic. in ad Atticum, lib. i. epist. 23. & alibi pass.

(D) Plutarch adds to this, his grief, "Do you think I have not just cause to weep, when I consider that Alexander the Great, he appeared very thoughtful, and at last burst into tears, answering his friends, who asked him the reason of

dred

*Aspires at
the con-
sulate.*

dred thousand pounds sterling. He was exceedingly desirous of a triumph, and the consulate; but chiefly of the latter, which he could not obtain without appearing in the comitium. Those who demanded a triumph were obliged to wait in the suburbs for the answer of the senate: being therefore reduced to the dilemma, either of laying aside the thoughts of a triumph, or to give up the consulship, he readily renounced the former, and pursued the latter. His management on this occasion was the foundation of his future grandeur. The two citizens, who at this time made the greatest figure in the republic, were, without dispute, Pompey and Crassus; but these powerful citizens were open enemies, and, all things considered, much upon a level. As they had both great interest, Cæsar plainly perceived, that he could never obtain the consulship, without gaining one or other of them to his cause. The difficulty was which to choose: if he closed with Pompey, he knew he should meet with a strong opposition from Crassus's friends; and, if he joined Crassus, he was sure to have all Pompey's party against him. He therefore undertook to reconcile the two rivals; and, by proposing a triumvirate, in which should be lodged all the authority of the senate and people, he prevailed upon them to adjust their differences, and to enter into a strict friendship with each other. To make their confederacy the more indissoluble, they bound themselves by oaths and promises to assist each other, and to suffer nothing to be undertaken or executed without their unanimous consent. Thus was the first triumvirate formed, by which Rome became a prey to three men, who, by the interest of their united parties, arbitrarily disposed of all the dignities and employments in the commonwealth. The public were long strangers to the mysteries of this new cabal. Nothing more appeared to the senate than the reconciliation of Pompey and Crassus; and Cæsar was congratulated by all ranks of men on his having effected it. Cato alone foresaw the consequences of this alliance, and exclaimed against it, saying, that Rome had lost her liberty: but his opinion was disregarded, till it was too late to follow his prudent counsel¹.

Yr. of Fl.
2288.
Ante Chr.
60.
B. C. 688.

*The first
triumvi-
rate.*

¹ Plut. in Pomp. Cæs. & Catone. Dio Cass. lib. xxxvii. Ap-
pian, Bell. Civil. lib. ii. Suet. in Julio.

C H A P. XLVI.

*The History of Rome, from the first Triumvirate
to the Death of Crassus.*

THE first benefit Cæsar reaped from this association, was his promotion to the consulate, Pompey and Crassus employing all their interest in his favour. He had two competitors, L. Lucceius Hirrus and M. Calpurnius Bibulus. The former, a man of great learning (E), was but little acquainted with public affairs; and therefore Cæsar, apprised that, if he had him for his colleague, he should reign alone, did his utmost to forward his election. He was not ashamed openly to purchase the suffrages of the people with large sums; but the senators, being resolved to have him excluded, and Bibulus chosen, agreed to defeat Cæsar's measures in his own way, and to outbid him among the people. Cato, though a rigid Stoic, was of opinion, that the laws, forbidding all sort of bribery, ought to be dispensed with on this occasion; it was therefore resolved, that Bibulus should buy the suffrages of the people, and that each senator should pay his share towards raising the purchase-money. By these means Lucceius was excluded, and Bibulus appointed to be Cæsar's colleague. The first step Cæsar took, after entering upon his office, was to confirm all Pompey's acts, pursuant to his promise. Then he employed all his endeavours to conciliate the affections of the people. With this view he planned an agrarian law, with such wise restrictions and provisos, that the senators themselves could not justly find fault with it; for it enacted only, that certain lands in Campagna, belonging to the public, should be divided among such of the poor citizens as had three children, or more. Cæsar declared in the senate, that he would do nothing without the consent of the fathers, nor propose any of his friends for commissioners, nor any other person, who might be liable to suspicions; but that they should be all men of unblemished characters,

*Cæsar and
Bibulus
consuls.*

*Cæsar
forms an
agrarian
law;*

(E) If we may judge of his learning from the account Cicero gives of him, he was one of the best historians of Rome. Besides the history of the war of the allies, he wrote that of Cicero's consulship, at the request of the consul, who had himself already published one of his own in Greek and Latin.

and

and known abilities. The fathers had nothing to object against the law itself; but as they were not ignorant of the legislator's views, they postponed from day to day giving their assent. Cæsar complained of these delays; and then Cato told him, that he did not disapprove of the distribution of the lands as proposed, but dreaded the consequences of it: "We do not care (said he), that you should purchase the favour and affections of the people at the expence of the public treasury." This open declaration piqued Cæsar, who ordered his lictors to carry Cato to prison; but he soon after privately ordered the tribunes to release him ^a.

*which is
rejected by
the senate;*

The example of Cato was followed by the consul Bibulus, and most of the senators, who declared, that they had nothing to object against the law; but that they would suffer no innovations. Thus thwarted, Cæsar had recourse to the people, and, having summoned them to assemble, appeared in the comitium, attended by Pompey and Crassus. He mounted the rostra, and, directing his speech to his two associates, asked them, whether they did not approve of the law. They both answered, that they would support his motion with all their power, against the enemies of the people, who opposed it. Pompey added, with more warmth than prudence, "If any one opposes this law with the sword, I will resist him with sword and buckler." By this rash answer, unsuitable to his dignity, and contrary to his true interest, he made himself odious to the senate, and at the same time gained no credit among the people, who thought themselves indebted to Cæsar only for so beneficial a law. Bibulus opposed it with great courage; but the people, losing all regard for the consular dignity, treated him with the utmost contempt, drove him out of the assembly, broke his fasces, and wounded his lictors. The senators, dreading the fury of the populace, waved their opposition; so that the law passed without any farther disturbance ^a.

*but passed
by the people;*

This victory over the senate and Bibulus made Cæsar, in a great measure, absolute in Rome. His colleague was scarce ever mentioned; no deference was paid to his orders; they all looked upon Cæsar as the only consul, and called this year ironically the year of the consulate of Julius Cæsar. The suspicions entertained of the confederacy between the triumvirs being confirmed by Cæsar's marrying his daughter Julia to Pompey, Cato exclaimed against

^a Plut. in Cæs. Suet. in Julio, lib. xxx.

^a Plut. Suet. ibid. Dio,

the arbitrary power usurped by the triumvirs. When the agrarian law was brought before the senate to be confirmed by them, he continued inflexible, opposing it with great warmth, though threatened with banishment; but at length Cicero telling him, "That if Cato did not want Rome, Rome wanted Cato," upon this consideration he acquiesced, and the law was established in full force. Cæsar resolved to gain the favour of the knights, as he had already acquired that of the people; with this view he abated a third part of the rents, which they paid annually into the public treasury, and by this indulgence attached them to his interest.

and at last approved by the senate.

Having thus secured to himself both the people and knights, he governed Rome with an absolute sway. Cicero exclaimed against the triumvirate, and, by some severe jests, provoked them to such a degree, that they resolved upon his ruin. In order to compass it effectually, they promoted his mortal enemy, P. Clodius, to the tribuneship*. Cæsar, having thus established the power of the triumvirate, began to take measures for his own private interest. Pompey had two consuls elected for the next year, who were personally devoted to him; namely, L. Calpurnius Piso, and A. Gabinius. Cæsar, fearing Pompey might attempt a superiority over him during their administration, attached Piso to himself, by marrying his daughter Calpurnia. Having thus secured his interest at Rome during the next consulship, he applied himself to the senate and people, and, with the assistance of Pompey and Crassus, procured the government of Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul, contrary to all law, for five years, with the command of four legions.

P. Clodius promoted to the tribunate.

Under the next consulship, of Calpurnius Piso, and A. Gabinius Nepos, the triumvirate continued to govern Rome by the consuls themselves, who were their creatures. As Cicero adhered steadily to the interests of the republic, the consuls gave Clodius liberty to vent on him all his fury. Cicero was looked on as the father and defender of his country, and the service he had done the republic was yet in every one's memory: the tribune was therefore obliged to have recourse to craft and cunning in order to effect his ruin. His first step was, to gain the affections of the people, by passing several laws favourable to them; then he obliged both the knights and sena-

Clodius resolves on the ruin of Cicero.

* Plot. in Cic. Dio Cass. lib. xxxviii. Cic. ad Attic. lib. ii. epist. 19.

tors, by lessening the power which the censors had of degrading them; and, in the last place, he paid his court to the consuls, by assigning them provinces of a very great extent. The consuls had hitherto taken their provinces by lot; but Clodius pretended, that the right of assigning them was lodged in the people, who accordingly gave to Piso, Macedon, Achaia, Thessaly, and Bœotia; and to Gabinius, Syria and most of the eastern kingdoms. Cicero, who had too much sagacity not to see through the tribune's design, secured to himself a faithful friend in L. Ninnius Quadratus, another of the tribunes, who so effectually opposed all the attempts of Clodius, that he could not proceed.

*What steps
he took to
compass it.*

Clodius, fearing Ninnius, or, as others call him, Mummus, might by his opposition overturn all his schemes, had recourse to artifice, and assured Cicero, that he would undertake nothing to his prejudice, provided he would persuade Ninnius not to oppose his measures. We are told, that both Cæsar and Pompey assured the orator, that the tribune had no design to hurt him; and that Cicero, deceived by these false assurances, desired Ninnius to waive his opposition, and slept in security. In the mean time Clodius got another law passed, enacting, that, when a tribune of the people should propose any law in the comitia, no regard should be had to the denunciations of the augurs. As most of that college favoured Cicero, the tribune was afraid lest they should, under pretence of religion, prevail upon the people to reject the decree which he had already drawn up against Cicero.

*Proposes a
law aimed
at Cicero.*

The tribune, thinking himself in a condition to carry his point, mounted the rostra, and proposed the following law, at which all these preparations aimed; that whoever had been concerned in the death of a Roman citizen, before the people had passed sentence on him, should be deemed guilty of treason, and punished as a state-criminal. Cicero, convinced that he was the person aimed at by this law, and seeing himself in great danger, changed his habit, and, letting his beard grow, appeared in deep mourning, soliciting the assistance of his friends. Many of the knights testified their regard for him, by changing their habits, and supplicating in his behalf. Among these was the son of Crassus the triumvir, who had been taught by Cicero the rules of eloquence, and had

*Regard
paid by the
knights and
senators to
Cicero.*

† Cic. post. Red. in Sen. de Har. Resp. pro Domo, pro Sext. in Pis. & alibi. Plut. in Cic. Dio, lib. xxxviii.

made an extraordinary proficiency under so great a master. This young patrician, at the head of a great number of Romans of his own age, accompanied Cicero wherever he went. Clodius, on the other hand, attended by a numerous body of armed men, insulted Cicero wherever he met him, reproached him with want of courage, and, interrupting him in his humble addresses to the people, encouraged his enemies, who were the drags of the populace, to throw stones and dirt at the orator and his company, who dared not retort the like treatment, for fear of violating the sacred person of a tribune. The senate, affected with the unjust persecution of a man, whom they looked upon as the chief ornament of their body, assembled, in order to decree, that the people should put on mourning, as in a public calamity; but the consuls, whom Clodius had gained over, opposed it, while he, with a band of armed slaves, beset the place where the senate met, and with menaces deterred them from coming to any resolution.

Cicero on this occasion acted a part unworthy of his former constancy. He ran from house to house, with sorrow and consternation in his face, imploring the protection of his friends, and cringing, with a shameful meanness of spirit, even to his enemies. The advice his friends gave him served only to embarrass him the more: Lucullus was for having recourse to arms, and repelling force by force: the knights declared for him, and with them the better part of the citizens; but Cato and Hortensius advised him not to tarnish his past glory, by filling Rome with slaughter, and exercising the same cruelties on his fellow-citizens which he had so severely condemned in Catiline. Cicero not knowing how to escape the fury of the tribune, had recourse to Cæsar, intreating that triumvir to take him into Gaul, as one of his lieutenants. This was the safest method he could have taken; and Cæsar, who was anxious to remove him from Rome, where he might, by his eloquence, raise great disturbances, consented to his request. Clodius being apprised, that, by these means, his prey would escape, in order to divert Cicero from accepting the new employment, feigned himself disposed to a reconciliation; and sent word by some common friends, that as he was informed his wife Terentia had been the chief cause of his giving evidence against him in the affair of Pompeia, he was determined to drop the prosecution, and live again in amity with him. Cicero, though in other respects a man of uncommon fa-

Cicero's pusillanimity.

Imposed upon by Clodius.

gacity,

Cæsar becomes his enemy.

gacity, was so far imposed upon by his enemy's fair words and promises, that he altered his resolution, and refused to attend Cæsar into Gaul. This levity so provoked Cæsar, that he joined Clodius against him, and engaged Pompey not to intermeddle in his behalf.

He is abandoned by Pompey.

Clodius, thus reinforced, resumed his impeachment, and accused Cicero, before the tribes, of having put Lentulus, Cethegus, and other Roman citizens, to death, without a lawful trial. Cicero, seeing himself exposed again to the rage of the tribune, had recourse to Pompey, who was indebted to him for most of his employments, and had often professed a great friendship for him; but Pompey had retired to one of his country-houses, that he might not be reproached with ingratitude, if he did not act in behalf of his friend. Cicero immediately dispatched Piso his son-in-law to him, and, upon his delaying to return, went himself; but Pompey, not able to see his old friend, who had done him so many good offices, and whom he had engaged with Cæsar not to assist, went out at a back-door, ordering his servants to tell Cicero, that he was returned to Rome. Cicero, no longer doubting that he was abandoned by Pompey, having called together his true friends, asked their advice, when Lucullus declared for taking arms; but the rest of his friends advised him to give way to the storm, and retire from Rome. As he was much averse to shedding the blood of his fellow-citizens, or perhaps had not courage equal to such an attempt, he followed their advice, left Rome at midnight, and resolved to retire to Sicily, where Vigilius was prætor, who owed his fortune to him; but the ungrateful governor refusing him admittance into the island, he embarked at Brundisium, and sailed to Dyrrachium, where he discovered so much dejection and meanness of spirit, as disgraced his great abilities, and the philosophy he professed. Cicero acknowledges, that, in the height of his grief, he was going to lay violent hands on himself; but was prevented by his friend Atticus †.

He retires into banishment.

Yr. of Rl.

*1290.
Ante Chr.*

*58.
U. C. 690.*

In the mean time Clodius got the decree of his banishment passed, confiscated his effects, which, to the immortal honour of the exile nobody would purchase when exposed to sale, burnt to the ground his houses in the country, and his fine palace in Rome, ordering the pontifices to consecrate the ground on which it stood to the goddesses

† Plut. in Cic. & Pomp. Cic. pro Sextio, Domo sua, & alib. pass. Dio Cass. lib. xxxviii.

Peace and Liberty, to make the restitution of it impossible. Thus Clodius triumphed at Rome; but as Cato still thwarted him in his pernicious attempts, he prevailed on the people to pass a most unjust decree, to gratify his private resentment; and then, by another decree, obliged Cato to put the first in execution. Clodius had been taken in his youth by pirates, while he was serving in the East, and Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, had refused to pay his ransom. This refusal the furious tribune resented, and resolved to be revenged on the king of Cyprus. Accordingly he got a decree passed, depriving him of his dominions, under pretence that he had forfeited them by his ill conduct. Cato was charged with the execution of this scandalous decree; and that he might be kept the longer from Rome, he was ordered to resettle some citizens of distinction in Byzantium, who had been driven thence by the populace. When Cicero and Cato were gone, the furious tribune, and the triumvirs, whose agent he was, reigned without control; but news being brought to Rome that the Helvetians, having abandoned their country, and burnt their towns and houses, were preparing to enter Gaul by way of Geneva, Cæsar found himself obliged to leave Rome, and hasten to the defence of the country committed to his care. He repaired thither in such haste, that he reached the banks of the Rhone in eight days. Upon his arrival he broke down the bridge of Geneva; and, as he found but one legion in the province, he deferred giving answer to the Helvetians, who desired leave to pass through the country of the Allobroges, till he had covered the frontiers of his province, by carrying on a wall from the lake Lemanus, or the lake Geneva, to Mount Jura, now Mont S. Claude. This wall was nineteen miles in extent, sixteen feet high, and defended by a deep ditch, and castles at proper distances.

Cæsar goes into Gaul.

When the deputies of the Helvetii returned at the time appointed for an answer, Cæsar told them, that the Romans never suffered foreign armies to march through their countries; and that, if they attempted to force a passage, he would repel force with force. Upon this declaration the whole nation of the Helvetians appeared in a body; and then Cæsar, persuaded that he could not resist them with the few troops he had, left Labienus, one of his lieutenants, to defend his lines, and, hastening back into Italy, brought from thence, in a very short time, five legions. With these he fell upon the Helvetians, while they were embarrassed in passing the Arar, now the Saône;

Refuses the Helvetians a passage through the Roman province, and defeats them.

defeated those who had not yet crossed the river, and, throwing a bridge over it, advanced against the rest. The Helvetians, disheartened at the loss they had sustained, sent deputies to the Roman camp, to treat of an accommodation; but as they refused to give hostages, Cæsar detached his cavalry, with orders to harass them on their march. The Roman horse having attacked them in narrow roads, were repulsed with no small loss, which raised the courage of the Helvetians, while the Romans began to be disheartened for want of provisions. Cæsar had none but the Ædui, the faithful allies of Rome, to depend on for a speedy supply of corn. Their country lay between the Seine, the Loire, and the Saone; was extremely fruitful, and capable of supporting a more numerous army than that of Cæsar; but the Roman general, to his great surprize, found the corn fail when he most wanted it.

*Treachery
of Dumno-
rix the
Æduan.*

The Ædui had promised to supply his troops with provisions; but they postponed from day to day sending the convoys which they had promised; so that the army was reduced to great straits. Cæsar, therefore, suspecting the fidelity of the Ædui, resolved to discover the true cause of these delays: for this purpose he examined Lifcus, the chief magistrate of the Ædui, and a lord of the country named Divitiacus, who served each in the Roman army. The former told him, that Dumnorix, younger brother to Divitiacus, designing to usurp the sovereign power, and depending on the assistance of the Helvetians, had, to gratify them, privately conveyed the corn out of the province, and raised its price, hoping, by these means, to make the Roman army perish with famine. Divitiacus confirmed what the other said, but without naming his brother. Cæsar was inclined to punish Dumnorix with severity; but pardoned him at the intreaty of his brother Divitiacus.

Cæsar drew near Bibracte (E), the capital of the Ædui, to facilitate the conveyance of the corn which those allies had promised. When the enemy saw him retreat, they pursued and attacked him; and a bloody battle ensued,

* Cæf. Bell. Gall. lib. i. cap. 1—18. Plut. in Cæf. Dio, lib. xxxviii.

(E) The modern geographers are divided in their opinions as to the situation of Bibracte. Some suppose it to be Autun, others place it near a village called Beauvray, about two leagues from Autun; and a third set imagine it was the same as Pebrac, on the borders of Auvergne.

which

which lasted from noon till night. The Helvetians behaved with incredible bravery, but were forced to give way, and retire to a hill, where they had placed their baggage and women, and surrounded them with their waggon as with a rampart. Thither Cæsar pursued them, made himself master of their baggage, and took a great many prisoners, among whom were the wife and daughter of the famous Orgetorix, the first author of the migration. After this overthrow, the Helvetians, dispirited at the loss they had sustained, which amounted to one hundred and thirty thousand of their people, had recourse to the clemency of the conqueror; who, having obliged them to lay down their arms, and give hostages, sent them back to their own country, with orders to rebuild their cities and villages. Only the Boii were allowed, at the request of the Ædui, to settle in Gaul, whence they formerly came. This victory rendered the Roman name formidable throughout all Gaul; congratulations were brought to Cæsar from all parts; and the Ædui implored his protection against Ariovistus, king of the Germans, who, taking advantage of the differences which had long subsisted between them and the Arverni (F), had joined the latter, made himself master of great part of the country of the Sequani (G), and obliged the Ædui to deliver their children as hostages.

The Helvetians defeated anew.

Return to their own country.

Cæsar, pleased with this new opportunity of acquiring glory, promised them assistance, and dispatched ambassadors to Ariovistus, inviting him to an interview; which he declining, Cæsar sent other deputies, desiring him to restore the Ædui their hostages, and to bring no more troops over the Rhine into Gaul; at the same time he reminded him of the favour he had shewn him during his consulate, when he had been declared a friend and ally of the Roman people. Ariovistus answered, that he had a right to make war when and where he pleased; and that he was not obliged to give any person an account, either of the victories he gained, or of the terms he prescribed to the conquered; and that he would not restore the hostages of the Ædui. When Cæsar received this answer, he marched to Vesontio, now Besançon, the capital of

Cæsar invites Ariovistus to an interview.

(F) The country of the Arverni, which was situated, according to Strabo, between the ocean, the Pyrenees, and the river Rhine. (G) The Sequani inhabited the country now called the Franche Comté, which reaches from the canton of Basle to the neighbourhood of Stralsund.

the Sequani, to prevent its being surpris'd by Ariovistus. There the Romans received such accounts of the formidable stature and aspect of the Germans, as fill'd them with alarms. Cæsar, having call'd a council of war, reproach'd them in such strong terms with their fears, that they were ashamed of the weakness they had discovered. He then led them against the enemy; but when they were within five miles of their camp, Ariovistus sent to desire an interview with the Roman general, which was readily granted.

*Treachery
of Ariovistus.*

Both commanders repaired to the place agreed on, which was a rising-ground in the midst of a large plain. During the conference, in which they treated each other with great haughtiness, the horse that attended the king drew near to those of Cæsar, and discharged at them a shower of darts and stones. Cæsar restrained the ardour of his men; but immediately broke off the conference, and retired to his camp, whither he was followed by deputies from the king, desiring that ambassadors might be sent him to treat in an amicable manner. Cæsar complied with his request; but Ariovistus treated them as spies, put them in irons, and, decamping the same day, posted himself so as to intercept the Roman convoys. Cæsar followed, and, drawing up his men for five days successively in a neighbouring plain, baded the enemy defiance; but Ariovistus kept close in his camp, and Cæsar was informed, that the German women, who pretended to prophecy, had foretold, that they should not be victorious till after the new-moon. Upon this intelligence, the proconsul marched all his legions up to their trenches; so that Ariovistus was forced to hazard a battle, in which he was entirely defeated, and most of his troops destroyed. The king with much difficulty escap'd cross the Rhine; but two of his wives, and one of his daughters, perished in the flight: another of his daughters was taken prisoner, with many Germans of distinction. After this victory, Cæsar put his troops into winter-quarters, and crossing the Alps, returned into Cisalpine Gaul, which was a part of his government, to make the necessary preparations for the next year.

*Ariovistus
entirely
defeated.*

*Clodius
insults
Pompey.*

At Rome the tribune Clodius, who was entirely devoted to Cæsar, being sensible of the superiority that general was gaining over Pompey, whose glory he had almost eclipsed in one campaign, began to insult the conqueror

³ Cæsar, Bell. Gall. lib. i. cap. 18—55.

of Mithridates, and even talked of disannulling all his acts. He had already taken young Tigranes out of the hands of L. Flavius the prætor, to whose custody Pompey had committed him, and sent him back to Armenia, where it was feared he would raise new troubles. This treatment roused Pompey, who now began to think of recalling his old friend Cicero, whom he had so basely deserted. As this could no otherwise be done than by a decree of the senate, or of the people, and it was impracticable to obtain a plebiscitum for this purpose during the tribuneship of Clodius, he endeavoured to engage the conscript fathers in his behalf; but the consuls Piso and Gabinus rendered all their attempts abortive; so that nothing could be done this year in favour of the exile,

Next year, the first measure the new consuls, P. Cornelius Lentulus and P. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos, proposed in the senate, was the recalling of Cicero, which met with a general approbation; but when the affair was brought before the people, Clodius appeared armed in the comitium, at the head of a company of gladiators, to oppose it with open violence. Then Milo, who was at the head of the tribunes, hired another company of gladiators, to repel force with force. The senators, depending on the protection of Milo, passed the decree in the most solemn manner, as did also the people, when it was brought before them, notwithstanding the warm opposition of Clodius. In the mean time Cicero, informed of what passed at Rome, left Thessalonica, where he resided, and came to Dyrrachium, and from thence set sail to Brundisium, where his reception was equal to a triumph. In his way to Rome, every colony and municipium sent deputies to congratulate him; and the nearer he approached the city, the more the crowds increased. At the gate Capena the senate met him, and conducted him, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people, to the Capitol, from whence he was carried to his habitation, as he himself expresses it, on the shoulders of all Rome. After his return, he soon began to reassume his former ascendant over the senate; and as corn was become exceeding dear at Rome, he procured for Pompey, his benefactor, the honourable commission of supplying the city, with an unlimited power in all the ports of the Mediterranean, for five years. Then he prevailed on the pontifices to put him again in possession of the ground on which his house had stood, and on the fathers to rebuild,

Cicero recalled.

Returns to Rome with great honour.

at the expence of the public, his houses both in the city and country¹.

*Cæsar
marches
against the
Belgæ;*

During these transactions at Rome, Cæsar, being informed by Labienus, whom he had left in Gaul, that all the nations of Belgium had conspired against the republic, and had entered into an alliance against the Romans as a common enemy, raised two new legions in Insubria, re-passed the Alps early in the spring, and, joining Labienus, began his march, and in fifteen days arrived on the confines of the Belgæ (H). Upon his approach, the Rhemi submitted; but the rest of the Belgæ, appointing Galba, king of the Sueffones, now the Soissonois, commander in chief of their united forces, which amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand men, marched against the Rhemi, who had declared for the Romans, and laid siege to one of their cities called Bibrax, which some modern writers take to be Braine, a little city in the Soissonois; others to be Laon, called by the ancients Mons Bibrax. Cæsar, upon this intelligence, sent a strong detachment to the relief of the besieged city. Then Galba, leaving Bibrax, marched directly against Cæsar, and encamped about three miles from the Romans. After both armies had continued some days in sight of each other, Galba attempted to pass the Axona, now the Aisne. Cæsar immediately marched his horse and light-armed infantry over the bridge, which he had seized; and attacking the enemy while they were embarrassed in crossing the river, made such a slaughter of them, that the channel was filled with dead bodies; insomuch that the Belgæ marched over them to the opposite bank. The Belgæ were so disheartened with this defeat, that they resolved to disperse, and return to their own country.

*and defeats
them.*

*Reduces
the Suef-
fones, the
Bellovaci,
the Am-
biani, &c.*

Next day Cæsar appeared before Noviodonum, now Noyon, a city of the Sueffones; and so terrified the inhabitants with his machines, that they opened their gates. The Bellovaci, who inhabited the present Beauvaisis, also submitted, and implored the clemency of the conqueror, as soon as he appeared before their capital. The Ambiani, now the people of Amiens, followed the example

¹ Dio Cass. lib. xxxvi. Plut. in Cæc. Cæc. pro Domo sua, pro Sextio, in Pis. & alib. pass.

(H) Belgic Gaul comprehended that country which is on one side, and the river Seine on the other. bounded by the British ocean

of

of the Bellovaci; but the Nervii, a fierce nation, who possessed the country now known by the name of Cambresis, joined the Atrebatas and Veromandui, that is, the inhabitants of the territory of Arras and of the Vermandois; and having secured their wives and children in inaccessible places, stood on their defence.

Cæsar advanced, and arrived in the enemy's country; but, while his legions were busy in pitching their camp, the Nervii, who lay concealed in a neighbouring wood, attacked the Roman cavalry, put them to flight, and then fell on the legionaries with great fury. As this attack was unexpected, Cæsar ran from place to place, exhorting his troops to remember their former victories; and, having formed them in the best manner the circumstances of time and place would allow, caused the signal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous resistance; but the success was different in different places. In the left wing the ninth and tenth legions did wonders, drove the Atrebatas into a neighbouring river, and destroyed many of them; in another place the eighth and eleventh legions repulsed the Veromandui; but in the right wing the seventh and twelfth legions suffered extremely; they were surrounded by the Nervii, all the centurions in the fourth cohort being slain, and most of the other officers wounded. In this extremity, Cæsar, seizing the buckler of one of the private men, put himself at the head of his broken wing, renewed the attack, and being joined by the two legions which he had left to guard the baggage, fell upon the Nervii, already fatigued, and made a dreadful havock of them. However, that warlike nation did not give ground till they were almost all killed; and then the old men, with the women and children, surrendered to the conqueror, who left them in possession of their cities and liberty.

*Is attacked
by the Ner-
vii;*

*in great
danger;*

*but defeats
them,*

Then Cæsar advanced against the Advatici (I), who, upon his approach, pretended to give up their arms, and submit; but treacherously concealed a third part of them, and made an attack on the Romans in the night. This provoked the general, that he broke down the gates of their city the next day, put a great number to the sword,

*and like-
wise the
Advatici.*

(I) The Advatici were the Rhine, to guard the baggage remains of those Cimbri and Teutones whom Marius had defeated in Italy. They had been left on the banks of the and booty of their countrymen; and had settled there; after the entire defeat of the Cimbri.

Other nations subdued.

and fold the rest, to the number of fifty-three thousand, for slaves. At the same time P. Crassus, the son of the triumvir, and one of Cæsar's lieutenants, subdued seven other nations (K), and took possession of their cities. The fame of these exploits brought ambassadors to the præconsul, with offers of submission, from several nations beyond the Rhine; but, as the season was far advanced, he put his troops into winter-quarters in the territories of the Andes, Taurones, and Carnutes, now the Angevins, the Tourangeaux, and those of Chartrain; and, repassing the Alps, passed the winter in Insubria*. By these conquests Cæsar effaced the remembrance of Pompey's victories in the East; and, by the prodigious sums he acquired in Gaul, chiefly by plundering the temples of their treasures, purchased many friends in Italy.

Galba defeats a great body of Gauls.

In the following year Marcus Philippus and Cornelius Lentulus were raised to the consulate. During their administration, Ptolemy Auletes king of Egypt, who had been driven from the throne by the Alexandrians, was restored to it by Gabinius, præconsul of Syria, as we have related in our history of Egypt. In Gaul, Galba, one of Cæsar's lieutenants, was attacked in his winter-quarters at Octodurus, now Martigny in Lower Valais, by a great body of Gauls, whom he defeated, killed above ten thousand of them; and then, after having burnt Octodurus, marched into the country of the Allobroges, to spend the rest of the winter there in more peaceable quarters. In the mean time Cæsar, who was in Illyricum, which was part of his province, being informed that the Veneti, the ancient inhabitants of Vannes in Bretagne, with some other nations near them, had endeavoured to recover their hostages, and were making great preparations for war, sent orders for building a fleet on the Loire, and hastened to the army. Upon his arrival, he appointed Brutus admiral of the fleet, which he found ready equipped; and the new admiral, putting to sea, engaged the enemy's fleet; and gained a complete victory. Hereupon the Veneti submitted; but Cæsar put their chief men to death, and sold the rest for slaves. At the same time Titurius Sabinus,

The Veneti, Unelli, Aulerce, &c. subdued.

* Cæf. Bell. Gall. lib. ii. cap. 2.—33.

(K) These seven nations were the modern geographers; the inhabitants of Vannes, Coutances, Treguier, Corneville, Rhedones; i. e. according to Sees, Maine, and Rennes.

whom

whom he had detached against the Unelli, defeated Veriorix their chief, and subdued them, with the Aulerci and Lexovii (L). Crassus, whom he had sent into Aquitaine, besieged the capital of the Sociates, and reduced it; but the rest of the Aquitani still refusing to submit, Crassus marched against them, and killed near thirty thousand in one battle. The consequence of this victory was the reduction of all Aquitaine.

All the nations in Gaul being disarmed, except the Morini and Menapii, the ancient inhabitants of the territory of Terouenne, of Guelders, Juliers, and Cleves, Cæsar marched against them; but, as they retired to inaccessible fastnesses, he burnt and ravaged their country; after which expedition, he put his troops into winter-quarters in the countries of the Aulerci and Lexovii, and, repassing the Alps, as usual, resided some months in Cisalpine Gaul. From thence he influenced all affairs at Rome, and is said to have encouraged Clodius to pull down Cicero's new house; but Milo opposed the tribune, and prevented the execution of his design. Pompey began to be jealous of Cæsar, whose victories in Gaul entirely eclipsed the glory he had acquired in the East. Cæsar likewise took umbrage at Pompey's joining Cicero: however, they both maintained the appearance of friendship, being apprehensive that Crassus would leave them, if they disagreed. Besides, Cæsar could not dispense with Pompey's assistance, which was necessary to effect the exclusion of Ahenobarbus from the consulate, who had declared, that he would, if raised to that dignity, shorten the time of Cæsar's proconsulship. To exclude Ahenobarbus was not easy, he being supported by Cato, just returned from Cyprus, and by all the enemies of the triumvirate, who were very numerous. Among all the well-wishers to the republic, Cicero was the only person who kept measures with the triumvirs, the remembrance of his banishment having made him extremely circumspect.

Cæsar excites Clodius to commit violence in Rome.

As it was the common interest of the triumvirate, that Ahenobarbus, a sincere friend to his country, should be set aside at the next election, Pompey and Crassus agreed to stand in competition with him; but as they despaired of success without the concurrence of Cæsar, they both went to Luca, to propose their scheme to him, and engage his

Pompey and Crassus agree to stand for a second consulship.

(L) Some take the Unelli Bretagne. The countries of for the people of Coutance; the Aulerci and Lexovii comprehend them in Perche; prehended Evreux and Lisieux. and some bring them nearer lieux.

in-

interest. There they found so many prætors and præconsuls making their court to him, that one hundred and twenty bundles of rods were seen at a time. Pompey and Crassus no sooner informed him of their design, than he came heartily into their measures: he was sensible, that a second consulate would increase the power of Pompey and Crassus; but it was more for his interest that they should succeed, than that the consulship should be conferred on Ahenobarbus, who was under the influence of Cato. Cæsar therefore closed with the proposal, and ordered his agents and emissaries at Rome to spare no expence in purchasing the suffrages of the tribes.

Ahenobarbus, not suspecting that the two triumvirs would be his competitors, went very early on the day appointed for the election to solicit the suffrages of the people: he was attended by Cato, who was to present him to the tribes, and by a slave, who, as it was dark, carried a flambeau before him; but he had not gone far, before some assassins, who lay in wait, killed the slave, and, falling on the candidate and his friend, would have dispatched them, had they not saved themselves by flight. Ahenobarbus escaped unhurt; but Cato was wounded in the arm. This notorious act of violence roused the zeal of the senate; but Clodius, at the head of an armed mob, opposed all their measures; and Caius Cato, another tribune, protested against holding the comitia: so that the consular year being expired, the republic fell into an interregnum; a circumstance which so grieved the senators, that they went into mourning, as in a time of public calamity. As the fathers were apprised, that these disturbances were occasioned by Pompey and Crassus, they asked them in full senate, whether they aspired at the consular dignity? They owned they did; and then the other candidates desisting, through fear of the triumvirs, the comitia were held, without the least disturbance, and Pompey and Crassus unanimously chosen.

Pompey and Crassus chosen consuls.

Yr. of Fl.

2293.

Ante Chr.

U C. 693.

Cæsar, now under no apprehension of being recalled from Gaul, hastened thither to oppose the Usipites and Tenctheri (M); who, being driven out of their own

• Dio Cass. lib. xxxix. Plin. in Pomp. Cic. de Provin. Consular.

(M) Some modern geographers place these people in the territory of Relinchusen in Germany; others in the neighbourhood of Zutphen. It is certain, that they had no fixed settlement; for, in Tacitus's time, they inhabited the country bordering on the territory of Basil (1).

(1) Tacit. de Morib. German.

country

country by the Suevi, had crossed the Rhine, with a design to settle in Belgic Gaul. As soon as he appeared, the Germans sent him a députation, offering to join him, if he would assign them lands. Cæsar answered, that there was no room in Gaul for new-comers; but that he would desire the Ubii, the people of Cologne, to give them leave to settle in their territories. Then they desired time to treat with the Ubii; and, in the mean while, falling treacherously upon some Roman squadrons, killed about seventy men. Cæsar, exasperated at this outrage, immediately marched; and, coming up with them, when least expected, made a dreadful slaughter of those unhappy people, who were but indifferently armed. They fled in the utmost confusion; but Cæsar pursued them to the conflux of the Rhine and the Maese, where the slaughter was renewed with so much fury, that of four hundred thousand, very few escaped. The victor, resolved to break into Germany, and spread the terror of the Roman name among those barbarous nations, ordered a bridge to be built over the Rhine; which stupendous undertaking being completed in ten days, he entered Germany, plundered and sacked the country of the Sicambri (N), terrified the Suevi (O), and made them sensible that there was a more formidable nation in the world than themselves; then he returned into Gaul, and broke down the bridge he had built. This expedition into Germany was finished in eighteen days.*

Cæsar defeats the Ubii, and Treacheri.

Passes the Rhine.

Cæsar, having reduced all Gaul, and struck terror into the German nations bordering on the countries which he had subdued, resolved to pass into Britain, and punish those islanders for sending continual supplies to the Gauls against the Romans. He detached C. Volusenus in a small vessel, to examine the coast, while he himself advanced, with all his forces, into the territory of the Morini, now Picardy, where he ordered all his ships and transports to be assembled without delay. Here he was met by ambassadors from the Belgic colonies, which had settled on the coasts of Britain, opposite to the continent. They

* Cæf. Bell. Gall. lib. iv. cap. 1.—17.

(N) We cannot give any account of the country of the Sicambri: all we know of them is, that they lived near the rivers Lyppe and Isel, and that they possessed a pretty large territory in Germany.

(O) The Suevi inhabited that part of Germany, which is now the duchy of Mecklenburg, the marquifate of Brandenburg, Turingen, and a part of Upper Saxony.

came

*Caesar em-
barks for
Britain.*

came to make their submission, and offer hostages for their good behaviour. Caesar received them with complacency, and dismissed them to their own country, together with a British prince, called Comius, whom he had appointed king over the Atreates, the people of Artois. He directed him to visit the different states, and persuade them to solicit the protection of the Romans, which he promised to grant at his arrival. Having collected about fourscore transports, which he thought sufficient for the embarkation of two legions, and allotted for his cavalry eighteen of a larger burden, that were wind-bound on another part of the coast, at the distance of eight miles, he distributed his officers on board of a few galleys, cantoned the rest of his army among the Minapii, and part of the Morini, that is, Picardy, Artois, and Brabant, under the conduct of Q. Titurius Sabinus, and L. Arunculeius Cotta; and left P. Sulpitius Rufus, with a sufficient garrison, to occupy the place and harbour of Nium, or Witland, where he now lay. By this time Volusenus had returned, and imparted the observations he had made along the coast of Britain.

These precautions being taken, he embarked his troops, and sailing about midnight, with a fair wind, arrived next morning on the coast of Britain, in the neighbourhood of Dover, where he saw the rocks and shore covered with an infinite number of armed islanders, assembled to oppose his landing. Finding it impracticable to make a descent on this part of the coast, on account of the high rocks and swelling surf, he sailed about eight miles along shore to Deal, where he found an open road, and a level country. The Britons followed him by land with such expedition, that the Romans could not be disembarked without the most imminent hazard; for the shore was lined with the troops and chariots of the enemy, who were so daring, that they even rushed into the sea to fight with the legionaries, who attempted to land. The Romans were startled, and even intimidated by their numbers and ferocity, added to the difficulties of the coast, when the standard-bearer of the tenth legion leaped into the sea, exclaiming, "Follow me, fellow-soldiers, unless you want to betray the eagle into the hands of the enemy." Thus addressed, they leaped overboard without farther hesitation, and, advancing towards the beach, were encountered by the enemy. A furious battle ensued in the water, where, as the heavy-armed soldiers could not properly form, and many of them lost their footing, they suffered

suffered considerable loss. In this emergency, Cæsar ordered the boats, filled with soldiers, to row about, and sustain those who wanted assistance. This expedient determined the fortune of the day. The troops, thus supported, made their landing good; and, forming on the beach, attacked the Britons with such vigour, that they were soon routed and put to flight: but Cæsar could not improve his victory for want of horse, which were not yet arrived. The Britons, dispirited by this defeat, sent ambassadors to implore the clemency of the victor, who admitted their apology, and demanded a certain number of hostages, part of whom they delivered immediately, and promised to send for the rest with all convenient dispatch, from the remote provinces. Mean while they dismissed their troops; and their chiefs assembling, recommended their different states to the protection of the Roman people. At this period an equinoctial storm suddenly rising, scattered the transports with the cavalry, just as they appeared upon the coast; and almost entirely destroyed the ships and vessels in which the infantry had been conveyed to Britain: so that Cæsar and his forces saw themselves deprived of the means of returning to Gaul, and destitute of provisions for their subsistence in Britain. The island chiefs, who had not yet separated, resolved to take advantage of this disaster. They gradually disappeared from the Roman camp, and began privately to reassemble their forces. Cæsar, suspecting their design, ordered all the corn and provisions in the neighbourhood to be brought into the camp; dispatched a vessel to the continent for materials to repair the shipping; and this work his men undertook with such ardor, that in a little time the whole fleet was rendered fit for service, except twelve ships that perished in the storm. During these transactions, the seventh legion, being sent out to forage, fell into an ambuscade of the Britons, who handled them so roughly, that if Cæsar had not opportunely marched to their assistance, they must have been all cut in pieces. Thus hostilities were recommenced. The Britons reassembled from all quarters an immense number of horse and foot, and boldly advanced to the Roman entrenchments. Cæsar marched out to meet them, and a battle ensued, in which they were routed with great slaughter. They had again recourse to the mercy of the victor, who granted them peace on condition, that they should send to the continent double the number of the hostages he at first demanded: and now the season being

Lands in Kent.

Defeats the Britons, and returns to the continent.

being far advanced, he re-embarked his army, and returned to Gaul. Such was the success of Cæsar's first expedition into Britain, for which the senate decreed a supplication of twenty days. The Britons no sooner saw themselves delivered from such troublesome guests, than they seemed to forget their submission: for two only of their states sent over the stipulated hostages to Cæsar, who was not sorry for their breach of articles, as it afforded him a plausible pretence for paying them another visit. For this purpose he left proper orders and directions to provide, in the winter, a great number of flat-bottomed transports; and in the mean time set out for Italy.

The Trebonian law.

Pompey and Crassus, during their consulate, governed Rome arbitrarily, without any regard either to the senate or people. C. Trebonius, tribune of the people, whom the two consuls had gained to their interest, proposed a law, appointing Crassus governor of Syria, Egypt, and Macedon, and Pompey of the two Spains, for five years. Cato opposed this dangerous proposal, till he was seized by the tribune's orders, and sent to prison. As Cæsar's commission was near expiring, and by this law all power would be vested in Pompey and Crassus, Cæsar's friends, seconded by Pompey, who on this occasion acted a very impolitic part, opposed it, till the tribes agreed to continue him in his government of Gaul for five years longer. Then the Trebonian law passed by a great majority, enacting, that they should have the above-mentioned governments; that it should not be in any one's power to recall either from his province, till five years were expired; that they might raise as many troops as they judged necessary; and lastly, that they might draw what supplies of men and money they thought proper from the kings and states in alliance with Rome. This law plainly tended to the total destruction of the republican state, and made the triumvirs sole masters of the government. Pompey chose to stay in Rome; but Crassus, extremely desirous of making war upon the Parthians, embarked at Brundisium before his consulate expired, and set sail for Asia. Pompey, the more to engage the people in his interest, built a stone theatre, at a vast expence; and diverted the multitude with magnificent shews, in which five hundred lions, and eighteen elephants, appeared in the arena.

† Cæs. de Bell. Gallic. lib. v.

Next

Next year Domitius Ahenobarbus and Claudius Pulcher were raised to the consulate. The former was an avowed enemy to the triumvirate; and Cato, now prætor, was in a condition to assist him: but as the triumvirs were at the head of three great armies, they feared nothing either from the consul or the prætor. Cæsar and Crassus were indeed at a great distance from Rome; but Pompey, without any regard to law, having raised an army, to put himself, as he said, upon a level with the other two, kept it at the gates of Rome; so that the most zealous republicans durst not attempt any thing against the triumvirs, or in favour of the public liberty. While Pompey thus held the capital in awe, Cæsar was intent on his second expedition to the British islands.

*Pompey
raises an
army.*

He returned to Gaul, and his fleet being assembled at Itium, to the number of eight hundred vessels, he embarked with five legions and two thousand horse, which landed without opposition at the place of his former descent. There was not one Briton to be seen on that part of the coast. The islanders had assembled as before, in great numbers, and marched to the sea-side; but seeing the whole breadth of the channel covered with the Roman fleet, they were so terrified that they dispersed and fled with the utmost precipitation. The army being landed, and the ground marked out for the camp, Cæsar leaving a body of troops under Q. Atrius to guard the ships, began his march in quest of the Britons. He had not advanced above twelve miles when he discovered the army encamped near a river, the passage of which they disputed with their cavalry and chariots. They were repulsed, however, and afterwards driven out of a wood to which as a fortress they had retreated. Next morning he received information from Q. Atrius, that the fleet was greatly damaged, and partly destroyed by a furious tempest. He forthwith marched back to the sea-side, where he gave directions for repairing the shattered ships; at the same time ordering the whole fleet to be hauled ashore, and included within the same trench and rampart that surrounded his camp. This work being finished, he put his troops again in motion, and in the same spot which the enemy had occupied before, he now found them assembled to an incredible number, under the supreme command of Cassivelaunus, sovereign of Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, and Bucks, a prince of uncommon prowess and military skill, who, in this time of common danger, had been vested with a dictatorial power, by the assembled

Cæsar's second expedition into Britain.

assembled states of the whole island. This warrior detached his cavalry and chariots to harass Cæsar in his march; a service which they performed with equal intrepidity and success. The legions were terrified at the impetuosity of their attacks, and could hardly keep their ground. Next day at noon, they fell upon three legions that were sent with all the cavalry to forage, and fought with the most desperate resolution: but they were obliged to yield to the discipline and valour of the Romans, who routed them with great slaughter. After this defeat, they never hazarded a pitched battle with Cæsar, who now resolved to penetrate into the territories of Cassivelaunus, and advancing in spite of all impediments, actually crossed the river Thames at Cowey, near Oatlands, although the enemy occupied the opposite bank, and had driven sharp stakes in the only fordable part of the river. Notwithstanding these obstructions, the Roman horse, and even infantry, plunged into the stream with such alacrity, that the Britons fled in consternation. Cassivelaunus now dismissed the greater part of his army, and retained a small select body, with which he did not fail to incommode the Romans in their march, and even to cut off some of their detachments. The Trinobantes of Middlesex and Essex submitted to Cæsar, who penetrating to the chief town of Cassivelaunus, took it by assault. This prince, finding himself hampered and distressed, sent orders to the subordinate chiefs of Kent, Wilts, and Hampshire, to make a diversion, by attacking the naval camp of the Romans while Cæsar was at too great a distance to march to its relief. This enterprize did not succeed. The Romans made a vigorous sally, in which they killed a great number of the Britons, and took one of their princes, whose name was Cingetorix. Cassivelaunus being unfortunate in all his endeavours, at length submitted to Cæsar, who condescended to give him peace, after having exacted a great number of hostages, and imposed a certain tribute to be paid annually to the Roman people. Having thus settled the affairs of Britain, he marched back to the seaside, where he embarked his troops and hostages, and arrived in safety at the continent* (P).

On

* Cæf. de Bell. Gallic. lib. v. Dio, lib. lxxix. Strab. lib. iv.

(P) Whether the Britons fulfilled their engagements with Cæsar, we are not informed by history: but certain it is, they lived in great tranquillity during the reigns of Augustus and his

*Takes the
chief town
of Cassivel-
launus.*

*Returns to
the conti-
nent.*

On his return from Britain, he received letters from Rome, acquainting him with the death of his daughter Julia, who was the great cement of peace between her father and husband; and had, by her good offices, hitherto prevented them from coming to an open rupture. Her virtue and extraordinary qualities had so endeared her to all ranks of men in the republic, that she was honoured, after her death, with a mark of distinction never before bestowed on any of her sex: she was buried in the Field of Mars, an honour allowed only to the greatest heroes of the republic^a.

The death of Julia.

Cæsar, on his return to Gaul, found a famine in the country, which obliged him to divide his troops, and put them into different quarters, for their better subsistence. This disposition gave the Eburones, now the people of Liege, an opportunity of taking arms against Sabinus and Cotta, whom Cæsar had posted in their country with only one legion, and five cohorts. At the same time Ambiorix, a leading man among the Gauls, pretending friendship, told Sabinus and Cotta, while they were besieged in their camp, that all the Gaulish nations were marching against them, and offered to conduct them safe through his dominions to Cæsar or Labienus. The Romans, in this distress, accepted the offer; but were, by the treacherous Ambiorix, led into an ambuscade, and most of them cut in pieces.

A general insurrection in Gaul.

The Romans betrayed by Ambiorix.

Ambiorix, elated with his success, proclaimed it in the neighbouring nations; and then the Advatici, falling unexpectedly upon Quintus Cicero, whom Cæsar had posted among them with one legion, reduced him to great difficulties; but the brave Roman defended himself with much gallantry, till Cæsar, whom he found means to acquaint with his danger, advanced to his relief, and defeated the enemy. The news of this victory soon reached Labienus, who was likewise attacked by the Rhemi, among whom Cæsar had quartered him with one legion. Indutiomarus, being joined by the Senones, insulted him in his camp; but the Roman, after pretending fear for

^a Plut. in Pomp.

his successor. Not but that the former actually formed the design of an expedition into Britain; but he was diverted from the execution of it, partly by a solemn embassy from the island, and partly by reflecting on the great expence of such an enterprize, which he foresaw would not be attended with any solid advantage to the empire.

some time, made a vigorous sally, put the enemy to flight, and killed Indutiomarus, the chief author of the revolt. This victory gave Cæsar more quiet during the rest of the campaign; which was the most difficult as well as the most glorious, of any he had made in Gaul; but he lost so many men this summer, that he was forced to have recourse to Pompey, who was weak enough to spare him two legions out of the army which he kept for ostentation near Rome. Pompey was blind to Cæsar's designs; but Cato foresaw the evils he was bringing on the republic, though it was not in his power to prevent them. All he could do was to attempt the rooting out of bribery and corruption.

Pompey sends Cæsar two legions.

Cato endeavours to prevent bribery.

With this view he enacted a law, forbidding the buying of votes at elections; and thereby incurred the hatred of the rich, whom he deprived of a sure way of obtaining honours, and of the poor, whom he would have excluded from a means of living without labour; neither did the law put a stop to the evil. When the election of new consuls came on, the candidates bought no more single votes of the people, but with large sums purchased the protection of the triumvirs, or of the present consuls; and those who offered most would have been chosen, had not Q. Mutius Scævola, one of the tribunes, and a true republican, got the assembly dissolved as often as it was called, till the consular year expired before the election was made, and then a long interregnum ensued^b.

An interregnum.

Great disorders occasioned by Pompey.

Pompey fomented discord in the capital, and, by his private intrigues, got the election of consuls put off for seven months; during which time his friends, to sound the disposition of the people, insinuated, that it was necessary, in the present situation of affairs, that Rome should be governed by one man; and the tribune, C. Luccæius, proposed to the people the raising of Pompey to the dictatorship; but Cato opposed the motion with so much eloquence and resolution, that the tribune was in danger of being deprived of his office. Then Pompey, fearing to disgust the people, whose favour he courted, and in order to remove all suspicions, suffered Domitius Calvinus and Valerius Messala to be chosen consuls. This election did not restore peace to the city; the five remaining months of the consular year being spent in factions and massacres: those who stood candidates for the

^b Dio Cass. lib. xl. Cic. ad Q. fratrem, lib. iii. & ad Attic. lib. iv. epist. 15, 16.

Ettrule offices, brought their money openly to the place of election; where it was without shame distributed among the heads of the factions; and those who received it employed force and violence in favour of the persons who paid them: so that few offices were disposed of but what had been disputed sword in hand, and had cost the lives of many citizens^a.

While Rome groaned under the turbulence of these factions, Crassus, whose unsuccessful expedition against the Parthians we have described in our history of Parthia, after having lost his son in that war, was himself killed, and his whole army, except five hundred horse, either cut in pieces; or taken prisoners. His death gave rise to the war which soon after broke out between the two surviving triumvirs; while Crassus lived, he was a check on both, and balanced their interests: but an open field was now left for their ambition and emulation. Pompey would bear no rival, and Cæsar no superior; and hence those disturbances, which ended in the ruin of Pompey, and the utter destruction of the republican state.

*The death
of Crassus*

C H A P. XLVII.

*The History of Rome, from the Death of Crassus
to the Death of Pompey.*

ONE of the triumvirs being dead, and another at a great distance from Rome, Pompey, who continued in the capital, raised great disturbances, in hopes of obtaining the dictatorship. The city was now become the seat of war between the candidates for offices; inasmuch that, the people being afraid to meet in the Campus Martius, the comitia were deferred, and another interregnum ensued. These disturbances, were increased by the death of Clodius, who was killed by his mortal enemy Milo. This event, which Cicero endeavours to disguise with all the art of eloquence, is thus related by historians: as Milo was going from Rome to Lanuvium, with his usual guard of domestics, he met Clodius on the road, returning from his country-house. Milo was in a

*Clodius is
killed by
Milo.*

^a Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. ii. Cic. ad Q. fratrem, lib. viii. epist. ult.

chariot, with his wife and other women; Clodius on horseback, and well attended. They met near Bovillæ; and, though their looks were not very cordial, they passed each other without any insult. The masters were scarce passed, when their slaves began to quarrel, and exchanged several blows with each other. In consequence of this fray, Milo, alighting out of his chariot, fell upon Clodius's slaves; and his attendants, encouraged by the example of their master, wounded many of Clodius's retinue. In this scuffle Clodius being dangerously wounded on the head, one of his slaves carried him to a neighbouring inn, or, as some say, to his own house. Thither Milo followed him, and, thinking it more easy to escape condemnation by killing his enemy, than by suffering him to live after he had been wounded, completed the work which one of his slaves had begun. Some writers tell us, that Milo, finding his rival ready to expire of the wound he had received before, left him in that condition, and returned with all speed to Rome, to prevent what might be related and exaggerated there to his prejudice.

Disturbances occasioned by his death.

The bloody body of Clodius was brought to the city by his brother Appius; which raised a general commotion among the people, who looked upon the deceased tribune as their boldest protector, and the most resolute enemy of the senate and nobility. They ran to Milo's house to set fire to it; but he repulsed them at the head of his slaves, and killed several of the mutinous multitude. Then they carried the dead body to the senate-house, and, there pulling to pieces all the seats of the senators, they made a funeral pile of them, which being set on fire, burnt with so much fury, that the stately building, where the senate used to assemble, was soon reduced to ashes. In the mean time Milo gained M. Cæcilius, one of the tribunes, who, having called an assembly of his own creatures, ordered Milo to appear at his tribunal, with a design to acquit him: but the people, more transported than ever, fell upon Milo and his tribune, who narrowly escaped being killed, dispersed the assembly, and, under pretence of seeking for Milo's friends, committed all sorts of violence; insomuch that nobody durst appear in the streets unarmed and unguarded.

During these disturbances, Pompey's friends revived the proposal of nominating him dictator. The senate assembled; but while they were consulting on the means of raising him to that dignity, Cato, ever watchful over the public liberty, insinuated, that it would be more proper

to choose him sole consul, since a consul was bound, when called upon, to give an account of his administration to the senate and people, whereas a dictator was not accountable for his conduct. Cato's expedient was approved of, and Pompey declared sole consul. • New troops were allotted to him, a thousand talents allowed yearly for their maintenance, and he was continued in the government of Spain for four years longer, with a power to govern that province by his deputies. Pompey no sooner entered upon his new office, than he ordered Milo to be tried for the murder of Clodius. On the day appointed for the trial, Appius Claudius, brother of the deceased, appeared against him, and was heard with great attention. Cicero undertook the defence of the accused, but was so terrified by Pompey's presence, and the soldiers about him, that he was incapable of defending his client; so that Milo was condemned to banishment. He chose Marseilles for the place of his abode, whither Cicero sent him the speech which he had composed in his defence. We are told that Milo, on reading it, cried out, "It is lucky for me that Cicero could not pronounce this language; for, if he had, I should not have eat so good fish as I now do."

While Pompey ruled arbitrarily at Rome, Cæsar was employed in securing his conquests in Transalpine Gaul. Ambiorix, the Nervii, Advatici, and Menapii, had revolted at the instigation of the Treviri; and the revolt had spread to other nations. He therefore first reduced the Menapii, and then marched against the Treviri and Eburones. The former he found already subdued by Labienus, and the latter, at his approach, retired under the conduct of Ambiorix, to the woods and marshes, whither no army could follow them. In the mean time winter approaching, Cæsar retired to Insubria, that he might be within reach of the capital. He was afraid lest Pompey, no longer attached to him by ties of blood, or by the regard he had for Crassus, should gain such an ascendancy at Rome, as it would not be easy for him to surmount. To prevent this, he sent immense sums, to be distributed by his agents among the populace; paid the debts of some; lent money to others without interest; and, in short, after having conquered the Gauls, as one of the ancients expresses it, with the Roman steel, subdued the Romans with the Gaulish gold.

He had not been long in Insubria when news were brought him, that the Gauls had taken up arms in his

Yr. of Fl.

2296.

Ante Chr.

52.

U. C. 696,

Pompey sole consul

Milo tried and condemned.

The progress of the Romans in Gaul.

The Gauls revolt.

absence ; that they had made Vercingetorix, a young and brave prince, their generalissimo ; and that almost all the nations bordering on the ocean had joined in the revolt. On this advice the proconsul repassed the Alps, repaired with incredible expedition to Narbonne, from thence through deep snows to the country of the Nervii, where he assembled his scattered troops, and then laid siege to Noviodunum, a city of the Bituriges. Vercingetorix advanced to its relief, but was defeated, and obliged to retire. Cæsar having made himself master of Noviodunum, led his troops against Avaricum, now Bourges, one of the strongest cities in Gaul, took it by storm, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the garrison, and made such a slaughter of the Gaulish troops, that of forty thousand men not more than eight hundred escaped.

Cæsar defeats Vercingetorix.

Lays siege to Gergovia,

His next attempt was on Gergovia, the capital of the Arverni, which he besieged in sight of Vercingetorix. While he was pursuing the siege, he received advice, that the Nithiobriges, now the people of Agenois, had revolted ; and that some of the chief men among the Ædui had formed a scheme of carrying off to Vercingetorix ten thousand men, who were levied as auxiliaries to the Romans. Cæsar, leaving Fabius to guard his camp before Gergovia, went to meet the Ædui, who begged for mercy, and were incorporated among the Roman auxiliaries ; but soon after the whole nation of the Ædui shook off the Roman yoke, and murdered all the Italians in their capital. Cæsar, at length, resolved to attack the enemy's camp, which he would have carried, if his troops had not abandoned this attack and fallen upon the town, which they hoped to take by surprize. Vercingetorix defended it so effectually, that Cæsar, after the loss of seven hundred men, was forced to raise the siege. From thence he hastened to Noviodunum, where he had left his military chest, baggage, and provisions ; but the revolted Ædui had seized all, and set fire to the city. Then Cæsar, resolving to join, if possible, his lieutenant Labienus, marched to Agendicum, now Sens ; and at the same time Labienus, upon a report of Cæsar's distress, hastened to the same place ; and conducted his march through the enemy's country with skill and dexterity. Camulogenus, a Gaulish general, attacked him with great courage ; but the Roman defeated him, reached Agendicum, where he had left his heavy baggage, and from thence went to meet Cæsar. Notwithstanding this defeat, almost all the nations of Celtic Gaul joined in the revolt, and having appointed Vercingetorix their generalissimo, had the resolution

which he is forced to raise.

Camulogenus defeated by Labienus.

tion to attack Cæsar, who defeated, and obliged them to retreat to Alesia, a town of the Mandubii, now, as is commonly believed, Alise in Burgundy. Thither Cæsar pursued them, and laid siege to the place.

Cæsar besieges Alesia.

As it was very advantageously situated, Vercingetorix, after he had sent messengers into all parts to raise new forces, shut himself up in it with eighty thousand men. Cæsar immediately invested the place, surrounded it with a double circumvallation, and fortified his camp with all possible art and care, intending to reduce the enemy by famine. As the garrison was very numerous, they were soon reduced to great distress for want of provisions; and then Vercingetorix drove out of the city all the useless mouths; but Cæsar refusing to accept of them as prisoners, inhumanly suffered them to perish within the circumvallation. At length the desired succours arrived, to the number of a hundred and sixty thousand men, under four Gaulish generals, the chief of whom was Comius, prince of the Atrebrates, on whom Cæsar had bestowed many favours. They made several attacks on the Roman trenches, and fought three battles; but being always repulsed with great loss, Vercingetorix, despairing of success, surrendered at discretion. Cæsar reduced all the Gauls in the place to slavery, except the Arverni and the Ædui, whom he spared, hoping to gain over the two chief nations of Celtic Gaul by the distinction he shewed them. His expectations were not frustrated; the Arverni immediately submitted, and the Ædui received him into their capital, where he passed the winter in tranquility, after he had placed his army in different quarters to keep the provinces in awe. Thus ended a campaign, in which Cæsar gained more glory for his conduct as general, and his bravery as a soldier, than any Roman commander had ever acquired before^d. Twenty days of public prayers were ordered to return thanks to the gods for this extraordinary success.

Defeats the united forces of the Gauls, and takes the place.

At Rome, Pompey, to strengthen himself with a new alliance, married Cornelia, the daughter of Cæcilius Metellus, a senator of great interest, highly esteemed by the patricians. As Cæsar was greatly beloved by the people, Pompey endeavoured to establish his interest among the nobility. With this view he associated his father-in-law with him in the consulate, though that dignity had been conferred on him without a colleague; which moderation

Pompey courts the favour of the senate.

^d Cæsar, Bell. Gall. lib. vii. cap. 1—89.

*Cicero's
expedition
into Cili-
cia.*

gained him the affection of the senate. When the time came for electing new consuls, Cato, actuated only by a zeal for the public good, appeared among the candidates; but the tribes preferred to him Claudius Marcellus and Sulpitius Rufus, who were both in Pompey's interest. During their administration Cicero was obliged to exchange the robe for the sword, in virtue of a law made by Pompey during his late consulship, which required all those who had been consuls or prætors for some years, to repair to such provinces as should fall to their lot, and exercise there their respective offices of proconsuls and prætors. Cilicia, and the island of Cyprus, fell to Cicero's lot, who immediately embarked at Brundisium with two legions, and, arriving in Cilicia, encamped near Iconium, where he was informed by Antiochus, king of Comagene, that the Parthians had passed the Euphrates. Upon this intelligence Cicero, crossing Cappadocia, repaired to Cybistra, in the streights of Mount Taurus, in order to prevent the enemy from making incursions into his province. Upon his arrival he received certain advice that the Parthians were assembling about Mount Amanus: he therefore hastened thither, surprised the enemy, made a great slaughter of them, and recovered many castles which they had seized. He likewise reduced the strong town of Pindenissum in Cilicia. In a word, with the assistance of his brother Quintus, who had served under Cæsar in Gaul, he performed such exploits, that his soldiers honoured him with the name of *Imperator*°.

*At Rome
the people
declare for
Cæsar.*

In the mean time Cæsar spent the winter at Bibracte, the capital of the Ædui, his cares being divided between the important business he had to transact at Rome, and the necessary preparations for finishing the war with the Gauls. At Rome his party prevailed in the comitium, and the people, whom he had gained by his bounties, declared for him. The senate seemed to favour Pompey's interest more than his: the consul Marcellus, who was entirely devoted to Pompey, proposed in the senate that Cæsar should be recalled before his time expired; and because this motion was rejected, he endeavoured to disgrace and expose the proconsul of Gaul; among other things, he ordered a senator of Novocomum, which Cæsar had declared a Roman colony, and presented with the freedom of Rome, to be scourged, to let him know he was no citizen of Rome, and desiring him to shew his

° Plut. in Cic. Cic. lib. v. ad Attig. ep. 15, 18, 20. & alibi pass.

(shoulders

shoulders to Cæsar. Soon after Cæsar moved the senate for the prolongation of his proconsulate; but as Pompey and his agent Marcellus had a great ascendant over the senate, his request was rejected. When news of this refusal was brought him into Gaul, he is said to have clapped his hand on his sword, exclaiming in the presence of his officers, "What Pompey refuses this shall give."

Cæsar refused a prolongation of his proconsulate.

The proceedings of the senate engaged Cæsar to use all possible expedition in putting the last hand to his conquest. The Gauls, after the battle of Alesia, resolved to act separately, and raise, in defence of the remains of their liberty, as many different armies as they had provinces. This design Cæsar knew; and, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, he marched against, and successively subdued the Bituriges, Carnutes, and Rhemi. He then turned towards the country of the Bellovaci, whom he defeated, killed Correus, one of their chief commanders, and, by this victory, quieted all Belgia, and the provinces bordering on Celtic Gaul. He afterwards entered the country of the Eburones, and laid it waste, while Labienus acted the same part in the country of the Treviri. In the mean time Dumnarus, general of the revolted Andes, besieged Limonum, now Poitiers, in the country of the Pictones; but Caninius and Fabius, two of Cæsar's lieutenants, advancing to the relief of the place, Dumnarus raised the siege, in order to return into his own country. Fabius pursued him, defeated his army, and killed twelve thousand on the spot; having dispersed the rest, he entered the territories of the Carnutes, and subdued both them and the nations bordering on the ocean, whom Cæsar calls Armorici.

Subdues the Bituriges, Carnutes, &c.

The only Gaulish generals who now kept the field, were Drapes the Senonian, and Luterius the Cadurcean, who retired to a strong place called Uxellodunum (A). Thither Caninius followed them, and defeated the two generals; but as the place was well garrisoned, and stored with provisions, he could not reduce it. As it was the only city which now held out, Cæsar hastened thither from the farthest parts of Belgic Gaul; and having soon reduced the place, by depriving it of water, he cut off the right

All Gaul subdued, and reduced to a Roman province.

† Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. i. Plut. in Cæsare.

(A) Father Briet and Cellarius stood near Usseldun, or, as others call it, Usselon, not far from the borders of Limousin.

hands

hands of all those who were fit to bear arms, to terrify other cities from the like revolt. Cæsar having subdued all Gaul, from the Pyrenees and Alps to the Rhine, reduced his conquests to a Roman province, under the government of a prætor. During his several expeditions in Gaul, he is said to have taken eight hundred cities, to have subdued three hundred different nations, and to have defeated, in several battles, three millions of men, of which one million were killed, and another taken prisoners; circumstances which would seem greatly magnified, were they not vouched by Plutarch, and other unexceptionable historians, both Greek and Roman.

Pompey gets Cæsar's enemies raised to the chief magistracies.

After Cæsar had put his troops into different quarters, in order to preserve peace in all parts of Gaul, he went to spend the winter at Nemetocenna, in the center of Belgium. There he governed the continent he had subdued, with such mildness and prudence, as shewed him equally qualified to preside over nations and to command armies. In the mean time Pompey secured the consulship for two of Cæsar's most avowed enemies, Claudius Marcellus and Æmilius Paulus; and Scribonius Curio, another of his creatures, he placed at the head of the tribunes. Curio was a young patrician of extraordinary talents, and great eloquence, but one of the most vicious and debauched young men in Rome. Appius Clodius Pulcher, who was generally thought an enemy to Cæsar, and Calpurnius Piso, were chosen censors. So that of all the chief magistrates, Calpurnius, Cæsar's father-in-law, was the only person on whom he could depend; but neither his character nor his office were such at present as gave him any great weight. His colleague was indeed more bold; he degraded several of the Roman knights and senators, and among the rest Sallust, the historian, whose enormous debauchery was branded with infamy^s. The two censors took the last census under the republic, in which they computed three hundred and twenty thousand citizens fit to bear arms; and ended it with a lustrum.

Cæsar repairs to Cisalpine Gaul.

Such was the state of affairs at Rome when Cæsar re-passed the mountains, in order to observe narrowly the steps which Pompey and his enemies were taking against him at Rome. During his stay in Cisalpine Gaul, he was informed, that the two consuls had sworn his destruction; and that to compass it with more ease, the tribune Curio was preparing a law to deprive him of his government,

^s Dio Cass. lib. xl. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. Val. Max. lib. ix. cap. 1.

and of the command of the army in Gaul. In a few days he overturned all the schemes which his competitor had been forming against him for several years. The riches he had heaped up in Gaul were immense : he had indeed distributed large sums among persons of all ranks, and even among the slaves at Rome ; but had still reserved vast treasures for himself. With these Cæsar endeavoured to draw off from Pompey those friends whom he had raised to the magistracy. Marcellus was proof against all temptation ; but his colleague, Æmilius Paulus, was bought at the price of fifteen hundred talents, that is, three hundred and ten thousand six hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling. With this money he built that stately edifice which was afterwards called the Basilica of Paulus. As the tribune Curio was almost overwhelmed with debts, and devoted to pleasure, Cæsar, by enabling him to satisfy his creditors, and supplying him with money for his debaucheries, secured him in his interest. Nevertheless Curio did not discover at once the change which Cæsar's money had wrought in him, but gradually and with circumspection. Pompey continued to repose an entire confidence in him, and was continually pressing him to propose his law for recalling Cæsar : but the crafty tribune postponed it from month to month, under frivolous pretences ; and when he was forced to act, Cæsar's last year being near expired, he found means to do Cæsar the most important service without declaring for him.

Cæsar buys off one of the consuls and one of the tribunes.

He made a motion both to the senate and people, that they would either continue both generals in their commands, or reduce both ; and left it to them to take their choice. The tribune foresaw that Pompey would never consent to lay down the government of Spain, or part with the command of the army ; and therefore made this motion, that Cæsar might draw from Pompey's refusal a pretence for continuing himself in his province, at the head of his troops. Cornelius Scipio, one of Pompey's friends, remonstrated, that, in the present case, a great difference was to be made between the proconsul of Spain and the proconsul of Gaul, since the term of the former was not yet expired, whereas that of the latter was. To this observation Curio replied, that, in the present crisis, when the republic was, in a manner, subject to two absolute sovereigns, there was no medium. " Both ought to be discharged (said he), or both continued in their office. Whoever continues alone in arms will become

Curio moves that both generals should be recalled.

become the tyrant of Rome : if they continue both armed, the power of the one will balance that of the other, and we shall be secured by their mutual fears." The senate were for recalling Cæsar, and continuing Pompey in his office ; but the people were inclined to favour Cæsar's motion.

*Pompey
quits the
city.*

Pompey, being greatly embarrassed, left Rome, under pretence of going to his government ; but went no farther than a country-house, at a small distance from Rome, whence he wrote an artful letter to the senate, acquainting them, that he was ready to resign all his employments, and disband his army, provided Cæsar would likewise dismiss his forces. Curio, well apprised that Pompey's view was to induce the senate to recall Cæsar, told Pompey, on his return to Rome, that it was his duty to begin what he proposed, and assured him, that his example would be followed by Cæsar. Pompey insisted upon Cæsar's resigning the first, since his term was expired. Curio now proposed, that both should be ordered to lay down their commissions, and declared enemies to the republic, if they refused to comply with the order. The fathers all inclined to recall both rivals ; but were for obliging Cæsar to resign the command of his army before Pompey gave up his. Curio, who represented the people at the head of the tribunes, would not suffer them to deliberate any longer about the dismissal of either. Then they only decreed, that one legion out of each army should be sent into Syria, where Bibulus wanted a reinforcement to act against the Parthians. Pompey at the same time demanded of Cæsar the legion which he had formerly lent him. Cæsar knew the reason of this order, and of Pompey's design, which was to weaken his army ; but nevertheless he delivered up the two legions to Appius Clodius, whom the senate had sent to receive and conduct them into Italy. Cæsar, on their quitting his army, loaded the officers with presents, and gave each private man two hundred and fifty drachmas, that is, about five pounds of our money. When the two legions arrived in Italy, instead of being sent into the East, they were, by an order from the consul Marcellus, added to Pompey's troops.

*Two
legions
draughted
out of Cæsar's army.*

Cicero at this time returned to Rome from his government of Cilicia, and demanded a triumph for his victory over the Parthians. His absence had prevented him from joining either party, and his present pretensions obliged him to stand neuter. He therefore took upon him the
office

office of mediator ; but Pompey would not hearken to any terms of accommodation. Appius, on his return from Gaul, in order to flatter Pompey's ambition, had reported, that Cæsar's troops were dissatisfied with their general, for having engaged them in so many dangerous expeditions ; that they suspected him of aiming at absolute authority ; and therefore, on their first entering Italy, would immediately declare for the senate. This false representation inspired Pompey with such confidence, that he neglected the necessary preparations to oppose so powerful a rival. Cicero, amazed to find him deaf to all terms of accommodation, and at the same time neglecting to strengthen his army with new levies, asked him, with what forces he designed to make head against Cæsar. To this question Pompey proudly answered, that he needed but stamp with his foot, and an army would start out of the ground.

Pompey will hearken to no terms of accommodation.

In the mean time he procured the consulship for his two friends, Clodius Marcellus and Cornelius Lentulus. Cæsar, before they entered upon their offices, wrote to the senate, desiring to continue in his government, as they had granted the same indulgence to Pompey. His request being rejected, he repassed the Alps with the third legion, and advanced to Ravenna, whence he wrote a letter to the new consuls, in which, after an honourable mention of his conquests and exploits, he declared, that he was willing to resign all his power, provided Pompey did the same. This proposal occasioned very warm debates in the senate ; but it was at length almost unanimously decreed, that Cæsar should give up his government, and the command of the army ; and that he should be treated as an enemy to his country, if he did not, within a limited time, comply with this decree. Cassius Longinus, Marc Antony, and Curio, three of the tribunes, protested against the proceedings of the senate ; but the consuls, having first attempted in vain to make them desist from their opposition, drove them out of the senate with disgrace. Cæsar, informed of all these transactions, that he might have the appearance of justice on his side, wrote again to the senate, with a great deal of temper, desiring, that since they were determined to deprive him of his government of Gaul, and the command of the army, they would at least continue him in the government of Illyricum, and allow him two legions. It is probable he would never have made these proposals, if he had believed the senate would have complied with them :

Cæsar's request of being continued in his government rejected.

He affects great moderation.

but

but he was convinced that the opposite faction had resolved to reduce him to the state of a private person; he therefore affected a great deal of moderation, though he was determined neither to part with the command of the army, nor resign his government.

*The fatal
decree for
a civil
war.*

Yr. of Pl.
2299.
Ante Chr.
49.
U. C. 699.

The three tribunes, his friends, not thinking themselves any longer safe in Rome, where the consuls threatened to degrade them, retired in the night, in the disguise of slaves, to take shelter in Cæsar's camp at Ravenna. Upon their departure the fatal decree was issued, which put the republic in a flame, and brought it to its destruction: "Let the consuls for the year, the proconsul Pompey, the prætors, and all those in or near Rome, who have been consuls, provide for the public safety by the most proper means." This was, in effect, proclaiming war. Two powerful parties were seen to take up arms, both pretending to have nothing in view but the defence of their common laws and liberty, while their chiefs aimed only at establishing their own power and authority on the ruins of that liberty which they affected to defend. Pompey's party had a more specious outside: he covered his designs with the awful name of the commonwealth, which acknowledged him for her general; and the whole senate, with the consuls, followed his ensigns. On the other hand, the people and their tribunes were with Cæsar; so that, in reality, the two legislative powers were divided between these two rivals.

*Pompey re-
quired to
take upon
himself the
defence of
the com-
mon-
wealth.*

The decree was no sooner passed, than the consul Marcellus went, with his colleague Lentulus, to a house where Pompey then was; and presenting him with a sword, "We require you (said he, speaking in the name of both), to take upon you with this the defence of the republic, and the command of her troops." Pompey declared he would obey their orders; adding, with a feigned modesty, "Unless a more happy expedient be first found out." By the same decree, which deprived Cæsar of his government, and the command of the army, Lucius Domitius was appointed to succeed him, and impowered to raise four thousand new levies, to enable him to take possession of his government^a.

After the senate had taken this hasty resolution against Cæsar, they met daily to consult about the most proper measures for carrying on the war, in case Cæsar should

^a Plut. in Cæsar. Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. i. Dio Cass. lib. xl. Hirt. Comment. lib. viii. cap. 30. Sueton. in Julio.

refuse to comply with their decrees. Pompey lodged in the suburbs, not being allowed, as general, to enter the city; and there the senate assembled to hold their consultations. They first considered what name they should give the enterprize, and determined to call it a tumult, which was ranking it among those sudden commotions which are raised and suppressed in an instant. So that Rome either did not know, or did not dread, the enemy she was bringing on herself. In the next place, they ordered Pompey to assemble thirty thousand Roman troops, and take into the service as many foreign forces as he should think proper. Levies were made accordingly in all haste, and money taken out of the public treasury to defray the expences of one campaign. Pompey was intent on appointing such governors for the provinces as were most firmly attached to his interest. He gave Syria to Cæcilius Metellus Scipio, his father-in-law, who immediately set out with young Pompey to assemble a fleet on the coast of Asia. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was nominated to succeed Cæsar, pursuant to the decree of the senate, in the government of Transalpine Gaul; but he imprudently shut himself up in Corninium before he left Italy. Cato was appointed proprætor of Sicily, Cotta of Sardinia, and L. Ælius Tubero of Africa. M. Calpurnius Bibulus and Cicerò were charged to guard the coasts of Italy. The other provinces, namely, Pontus, Bithynia, Cyprus, Cilicia, and Macedon, were all bestowed on Pompey's friends, who, from this time assumed the character of generalissimo of the republic, and governed with as absolute a sway as if he had been king of Rome¹.

Pompey and the senate prepare for war.

All the governments bestowed on Pompey's friends.

In the mean time the three tribunes, Curio, Antony, and Longinus, who had been driven from Rome, arriving in Cæsar's camp, disguised like slaves, he shewed them in that condition to the legion he had then with him, exaggerating the violence which had been offered them by the senate, and the unwarrantable steps the patricians had taken against himself. In the close of his speech, he exhorted his men to defend the honour and character of their general, under whom they had made war with success. When he had done speaking, they all cried out, that they were ready to maintain the rights of their general, and of the tribunes of the people, and revenge the injuries which they had sustained.

Cæsar exhorts his soldiers to stand by him.

¹ Plut. in Pomp.

When

*Cæsar re-
solves to
begin hos-
tilities.*

When he found he could depend on his soldiers, he resolved to begin hostilities without delay, and entering Italy, properly so called, to make himself master of Ariminum, a city bordering on Cisalpine Gaul, which was part of his province. As this was a bold step, and an open declaration of war, he carefully concealed his design, and sent a detachment towards the Rubicon, ordering the officer who commanded it to wait for him on the banks of that river. Next day he assisted at a show of gladiators, and made a great entertainment. Towards the close of the day, he rose from table, desiring his guests to stay till he came back; but, instead of returning to the company, he immediately left Ravenna, where he then was, after he had ordered some of his most intimate friends to follow him, through different roads, to avoid being observed. He himself travelled in an hired chariot, and drove first another way; but, at some distance from the town, turned towards Ariminum. When he reached the banks of the Rubicon, which parted Cisalpine Gaul from Italy, all the misfortunes of the succeeding war offered themselves to his mind, and kept him some time in suspense. Turning to Asinius Pollo, "If I do not cross the river (said he), I am undone; and if I do cross it, how many calamities shall I, by this step, bring upon Rome!" Having thus spoken, he mused a few minutes on the hatred and inveteracy of his enemies, and then crying out, "The die is cast," he threw himself into the river, and crossing it, marched with all possible expedition towards Ariminum, which he reached and surprised before day-break. From thence, as he had but one legion with him, he dispatched orders to the great army he had left in Gaul to cross the mountains, and join him*.

*Passes the
Rubicon.*

*Rome in the
utmost con-
sternation.*

It is impossible to express the terror and fear all ranks of people at Rome were in, upon the unexpected news of this enterprize. They imagined this renowned general already at the gates of the city, with the formidable army he commanded in Gaul. Nothing was seen but terror and confusion, the country-people crowding into the city for safety, and the citizens flying into the country. The senate met several times, without coming to any resolution. Several senators, without proposing any thing of themselves, only contradicted the advice of others. Pompey was no less alarmed than the other senators. As he had not yet drawn together his troops, who were quarter-

*Pompey
alarmed.*

* Plut. in Cæsar. Dio Cass. lib. xli. Epit. Liv.

ed in different provinces, at some distance from the capital, he was not in a condition to make head against Cæsar. Nothing gave him greater uneasiness, than the reproaches which many of his own party threw out against him, some charging him with indiscretion, in arming Cæsar against himself and the government, and others blaming him for having neglected the necessary preparations. M. Favonius desired him "to stamp with his foot, and make armies start up, as he had promised." Every senator thought himself privileged to reproach and advise him. In this confusion, Pompey, seeing himself in Rome without troops, and fearing, if he should arm the people, they would declare against him, resolved to retire to Capua, where the two legions were encamped which Cæsar had surrendered to Appius. He communicated his design to the senate, and at the same time declared, that if any senator or magistrate refused to follow him, he should be treated as a friend to Cæsar, and an enemy to his country. Upon this declaration the consuls, the senators, and all the magistrates, left Rome in great haste, and attended Pompey into Campania¹.

He abandons Rome.

Cæsar, having raised new troops in Cisalpine Gaul, sent Marc Antony with a detachment to seize Arretium, and detached other officers to secure Pisaurum and Fanum, while he marched at the head of the thirteenth legion to Auximum, which opened its gates at his approach. From Auximum he advanced into Picenum, where he was joined by the twelfth legion from Transalpine Gaul. As Picenum readily submitted to him, he led his forces against Corfinium, the capital of the Peligni, which Domitius Ahenobarbus defended with thirty cohorts. Cæsar no sooner invested it, than the garrison betrayed their commander, and delivered him up, with many senators, who had taken refuge in the place, to Cæsar, who, to shew his great moderation in the midst of victory, granted them their lives and liberty (C). Domitius, fearing the resentment of the conqueror, had ordered one of his slaves, whom he used as a physician, to give him a dose of poison. When he came to experience

Cæsar seizes Arretium, Pisaurum, &c.

Takes Corfinium.

His moderation.

¹ Dio Cass. & Plut. *ibid.* Cæsar. Bell. Civil. lib. i. cap. 8. Liv. lib. cix. cap. 46.

(C) Cæsar not only gave Domitius his liberty, but restored to him the money which he had taken out of the treasury for the payment of his troops, and was lodged in the hands of the magistrates of Corfinium.

the humanity of the conqueror, he lamented his misfortune, and blamed the hastiness of his own resolution : but his physician, who had only administered a sleeping draught, comforted him, and received his liberty as a reward for his affection ^m.

*Beseges
Pompey in
Brundisium.*

Pompey, thinking himself no longer safe at Capua, after the reduction of Corfinium, retired to Brundisium, with a design to carry the war into the East, where all the governors were his creatures. Cæsar followed him cross Apulia, and arriving with his army before Brundisium, invested the place on the land-side, and undertook to shut up the port by a staccado of his own invention ; but before the work was completed, the fleet which had conveyed the two consuls with thirty cohorts to Dyrrachium, now Durazzo, being returned, Pompey resolved to make his escape, which he conducted with all the experience and dexterity of a great officer. He kept his intention very secret ; and, at the same time, made all necessary preparations for his departure : he walled up the gates, then dug deep and wide ditches cross all the streets, except only those two that led to the port ; in the ditches he planted sharp-pointed stakes, covering them with hurdles and earth. After these precautions, he gave orders, that all the citizens should keep within-doors, lest they should betray his design to the enemy ; and then, in the space of three days, embarked all his troops, except the light-armed infantry, whom he placed on the walls ; and these likewise, on a signal given, abandoning their posts, repaired with great expedition to the ships. Cæsar, perceiving the walls unguarded, ordered his men to scale them, and immediately pursue the enemy. In the heat of the pursuit, they would have fallen into the ditches which Pompey had prepared for them, had not the Brundisians warned them of the danger, and, by many windings and turnings, led them to the haven, where they found all the fleet under sail, except two vessels, which had run aground in going out of the harbour. These Cæsar seized, took the soldiers on board prisoners, and brought them ashore.

*Pompey
abandons
Italy to the
mercy of
his rival.*

Cæsar seeing himself, by the flight of his rival, master of all Italy, from the Alps to the sea, was desirous to follow and attack him before he was joined by the supplies which he expected from Asia. Being destitute of shipping, he resolved to go first to Rome, and settle some

^m Plat. Appian. Cæsar, libid.

fort of government there, and then pass into Spain, to drive from thence Pompey's troops, who had taken possession of that country, under the command of Afranius and Petreius. Before he left Brundisium, he sent Scribonius Curio with three legions into Sicily, and ordered Q. Valerius, one of his lieutenants, to assemble a number of vessels, and cross over with one legion into Sardinia. Cato, who commanded in Sicily, upon the first news of Curio's landing there, abandoned the island, and retired to the camp of the consuls at Dyrrachium: and Q. Valerius no sooner appeared with his small fleet off Sardinia, than the Caralitani, now the inhabitants of Cagliari, drove out Aurelius Cotta, who commanded there for the senate, and put Cæsar's lieutenant in possession of their city and island.

Cæsar's lieutenants make themselves masters of Sicily and Sardinia.

Cæsar advanced towards Rome with confidence, because he had made himself master of all Italy, without shedding one drop of blood. On his march he wrote to all the senators then in Italy, desiring them to repair to the capital, and assist him with their counsel. Above all, he was desirous to see Cicero; and therefore, after having pressed him in vain by Oppius and Coelius, their common friends, to meet him, he turned out of the road, and went to his country-house, where he had a long conference with him, but could not prevail upon him to return to Rome. As Cæsar drew near the capital, he quartered his troops in the neighbouring municipia; and then advancing to the city, from a pretended respect to the ancient customs, he took up his quarters in the suburbs, whither the whole city crowded to see the famous conqueror of Gaul, who had been absent near ten years. Such of the tribunes of the people as had fled to him for refuge, reassumed their functions, mounted the rostra, and endeavoured by their speeches to reconcile the people to the head of their party. Marc Antony particularly, and Cassius Longinus, two of Cæsar's zealous partisans, moved that the senate should meet in the suburbs, that the general might give them an account of his conduct. Accordingly the senators who were at Rome assembled, when Cæsar, with that dignity and eloquence which were natural to him, made a speech in justification of all his proceedings, encouraged the timorous, confirmed the wavering, and concluded his harangue with proposing a deputation to Pompey with offers of accommodation. He even desired the conscript fathers, to whom in appearance he paid great deference, to nominate some of their ve-

Cæsar goes to Rome.

The senate assembles.

Cæsar resolves to supply himself with money from the treasury.

Is opposed by Metellus.

Breaks open the treasury.

netable body to carry proposals of peace to the consuls, and the general of the consular army. Not one of the senators would undertake that commission, some being afraid of Pompey, who had declared all those enemies who should stand neuter, and others plainly seeing that Cæsar was not sincere ^a (D). He then began to think of providing himself with the necessary sums for carrying on the war, and had recourse to the public treasury. Metellus, one of the tribunes, opposed him, alleging a law, forbidding any one to open the treasury but in the presence, and with the consent of the consuls. To this suggestion Cæsar replied: "Arms and laws do not well agree: when I shall have laid down my arms, then will I hearken to laws, and let you make as long harangues as you please; but at present I advise you to retire." Having thus spoken, he went directly to the temple of Saturn, where the public money was kept. The keys of the treasury having been carried away by the consul Lentulus, he ordered the doors to be broke open. This violence Metellus opposed; and then Cæsar laying his hand on his sword, threatened to kill him if he made any farther disturbance, adding, "This you know, young man, is harder for me to say than to do." These words terrified Metellus, that he withdrew; and then Cæsar took out of the treasury, which was ever after at his command, an immense sum; some say, three hundred thousand pounds weight of gold. With this supply of money he raised troops all over Italy, and sent governors into all the provinces subject to the republic.

He appointed Marc Antony commander of the armies in Italy, sent his brother C. Antonius to govern Illyricum,

^a Plut. Appian. Cæsar, *ibid*.

(D) Cæsar tells us, that he attempted several times to settle his disputes with Pompey in an amicable manner. On his march to Brundisium he sent Cn. Magius, one of Pompey's chief officers, whom he had taken prisoner, to invite his rival to an interview. But as the consuls had already set sail for Dyrrachium, Pompey answered, that he could do nothing in their absence. In

the first days of the siege he attempted once more to draw Pompey to a conference, and with this view sent Caninius Rebilus, one of the chief officers of his army, to mediate an accommodation, together with P. Scribonius Libo, Pompey's particular friend. But he returned the same answer, importing, that he could not come to an agreement in the absence of the consuls.

assigned

assigned Cisalpine Gaul to Licinius Crassus, appointed M. Æmilius Lepidus governor of the capital, and having collected some ships to cruise in the Adriatic and Mediterranean seas, he gave the command of one of his fleets to P. Cornelius Dolabella, and of the other to young Hortensius, the son of the famous orator. As Pompey had sent governors into the same provinces, a general war was now kindled. However, Cæsar would not trust any of his lieutenants with the conduct of the war in Spain, which was Pompey's favourite province, but took it upon himself: having settled his affairs in great haste at Rome, he returned to Ariminum, assembled his legions there, and passing the Alps entered Transalpine Gaul. There he was informed, that the inhabitants of Marseilles had resolved to refuse him entrance into their city; and that L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, whom he had generously pardoned, and set at liberty after the reduction of Corfinium, had sailed for Marseilles with seven gallies, having on board a great number of his clients and slaves, with a design to engage the city in favour of Pompey. Cæsar, thinking it dangerous to let the enemy take possession of such an important place, sent for the fifteen chief magistrates of the city, and advised them not to begin a war with him, but rather follow the example of Italy, and submit. The magistrates returned to the city, and soon after sent Cæsar the following answer: "Since the Roman people are divided into two parties, we will not take upon us to determine on which side the right lies. We have great obligations, and an equal affection for both competitors; they are both our patrons, both our benefactors; and therefore, that we may not help one against the other, our port, and the gates of our city, shall be shut to both." In the mean time Domitius arriving with his small squadron, was received into the city, and declared general of all their forces.

A general war kindled.

Cæsar returns to Transalpine Gaul.

Cæsar, justly provoked at such unfair dealings, immediately invested the town with three legions, and ordered twelve gallies to be built at Arelas, now Arles, in order to block up the port; but as the siege might probably detain him too long, he left C. Trebonius to carry it on, and D. Brutus to command the fleet, while he continued his march into Spain, where he began the war with all the valour, ability, and success of a great hero. Pompey had three generals in that country, which was divided into two Roman provinces. Varro commanded in Farther

Marseilles besieged.

* Plut. Appian. Cæf. ibid.

Cæsar enters Spain.

Spain; and Petreius and Afranius with equal power, and two considerable armies, in Hither Spain. Cæsar, while he was at Marseilles, sent Q. Fabius, one of his lieutenants, with three legions, to take possession of the passes of the Pyrenees, which Afranius had seized. Fabius executed his commission with great bravery, entered Spain, and left the way open for Cæsar, who soon followed him. When he had crossed the mountains, he sent out scouts to observe the situation of the enemy; by whom he was informed, that Afranius and Petreius having joined their forces, consisting of five legions, twenty cohorts of the natives, and five thousand horse, were advantageously posted on a hill of easy ascent in the neighbourhood of Ilerda, now Lerida in Catalonia.

Advances against Afranius and Petreius.

Upon his advice he advanced within sight of the enemy, and encamped in a plain between the Sicoris and Cinga, now the Segro and Cinca. Between the eminence, on which Afranius had posted himself, and the city of Ilerda, was a small plain, and in the middle of it a rising-ground, which Cæsar attempted to seize, in order to cut off the communication between the enemy's camp and the city, from whence they had all their provisions. This attempt occasioned a dispute between three of Cæsar's legions, and an equal number of the enemy, which lasted five hours with equal success, both parties claiming the victory. Afranius's troops, who had first seized the post, maintained themselves in possession of it, notwithstanding Cæsar's utmost efforts. Two days after this battle, continual rains, with the melting of the snow on the mountains, so swelled the two rivers, between which Cæsar was encamped, that they overflowed, broke down his bridges, and laid the neighbouring country under water. This accident cut off the communication between his camp and the cities that had declared for him, and reduced him to such difficulties, that his army was ready to perish, wheat being sold in his camp at fifty Roman denarii per bushel, that is, one pound twelve shillings and three pence half-penny sterling. He attempted to rebuild his bridges, but the violence of the stream rendered all his endeavours fruitless.

Upon the news of Cæsar's distress, Pompey's party at Rome began to act with vigour. Several persons of distinction congratulated Afranius's wife on the success of her husband's arms in Spain. Many of the senators, who had hitherto stood neuter, hastened to Pompey's

† Cæsar. Bell. Civil. lib. i. cap. 14—46. Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. ii. cap. 14, & seq. Dio Cass. lib. xli.

camp,

camp, taking it for granted, that Cæsar was reduced to the last extremity, and all hopes of his party lost. Of this number was Cicero, who, without regard to the remonstrances of Atticus, or the letters Cæsar wrote to him, desiring him to join neither party, left Italy, and landed at Dyrrachium, where he was received by Pompey with great marks of joy and friendship. Cicero soon repented of the little regard he paid to the advice of his friends, and could not forgive himself for having too easily given credit to the reports that were brought from Spain: he ever appeared gloomy, thoughtful, and uneasy, and vented his ill-humour in severe jests on Pompey. The offensive things he threw out, on all occasions, and his unseasonable jests, led some to suspect that he kept a correspondence with Cæsar: however, Pompey would neither trust him with any command, nor impart to him his designs; he even desired him to go to Cæsar's camp, where he would have less reason to jest, and more to be afraid. Neither did his old friend Cato give him a very favourable reception: he was displeased at his having so unseasonably declared for a party, which he might have served more effectually by observing an exact neutrality. Cicero, strongly affected with these reproaches, left the camp, and did not appear even at the battle of Pharsalia.

Many of the senators repair to Pompey's camp.

The joy of Pompey's party was not of long duration. Cæsar caused boats to be made with expedition; and while the enemy were diverted by endeavouring to intercept the succours that were sent him from Gaul, he embraced that opportunity to convey his boats in the night on carriages twenty-two miles from his camp. There, with wonderful expedition, a great detachment passed the Sicoris, and encamping on the opposite bank, unknown to the enemy, built a bridge in two days, opened a communication with the neighbouring country, received the supplies from Gaul, and relieved the wants of his soldiers. Cæsar being thus delivered from all danger, pursued the armies of Afranius and Petreius with such superior address and conduct, that he forced them to submit without coming to a battle, and thus became master of all Hither Spain. The two generals disbanded their troops, sent them out of the province, and returned to Italy; after having promised never to assemble forces again, or make war upon Cæsar^a. Upon the news of the reduction of Hither Spain, the Spaniards in Farther Spain, and one Roman legion, deserted from Varro, Pompey's governor in that

Cæsar overcomes his difficulties;

and reduce all Spain.

^a Cæf. Bell. Civil. lib. i. cap. 46—82.

province, a circumstance which obliged him to surrender his other legion, and all his treasure.

*Marseilles
surrenders.*

Cæsar, having reduced all Spain in a few months, appointed Cassius Longinus to govern the two provinces with four legions; and then returned to Marseilles, which city was upon the point of surrendering, after a vigorous resistance. Though the inhabitants had by their late treachery deserved a severe punishment, yet he granted them their lives and liberty, but stripped their arsenals, and obliged them to deliver up all their ships. From Marseilles Cæsar marched into Cisalpine Gaul, and from thence hastened to Rome, where he laid the foundations of his future grandeur. He found the city in a very different state from that in which he had left it: most of the senators and magistrates were fled to Pompey at Dyrrachium; however, there were still prætors there, particularly M. Æmilius Lepidus, who was afterwards one of the triumvirs with Octavius and Marc Antony. The prætor nominated Cæsar dictator by his own authority, and against the inclination of the senate. Cæsar accepted the new dignity; but neither abused his power, as Sylla had done, nor retained it so long. During the eleven days of his dictatorship, he governed with moderation, and gained the affections of the people and patricians. He recalled all the exiles, except Milo, who had murdered Clodius; granted the rights and privileges of Roman citizens to all the Gauls beyond the Po; and, as pontifex maximus, filled up the vacancies of the sacerdotal colleges with his own friends. Though it was expected, that he would have cancelled all debts contracted since the beginning of the troubles, he only reduced the interest to one-fourth. The chief use he made of his dictatorship was, to preside at the election of consuls for the next year, when he procured that dignity for himself, and Servilius Isauricus, one of his most zealous partisans¹.

*Is chosen
consul.*

*Cæsar re-
solves to
follow
Pompey
into the
East.*

Cæsar being resolved to follow Pompey, and carry the war into the East, he set out for Brundisium, whither he had ordered twelve legions to repair with all possible expedition. On his arrival he found only five; the rest being afraid of the dangers of the sea, and unwilling to engage in a new war, had marched leisurely, complaining of their general for allowing them no respite, but hurrying them continually from one country to another. Cæsar did not wait for them, but set sail with only five legions, and six hundred horse, in the beginning of January. When the legions found he had embarked without them, they chang-

¹ Cæf. Bell. Civil. lib. iii. cap. 18. Plut. in Cæf.

ed their sentiments, and looking upon themselves as traitors to their general, blamed their officers for marching so slowly. While they were waiting at Brundisium for ships to transport them into Epirus, Cæsar arrived safe with his five legions in Chaonia, the northern part of Epirus, near the Ceraunian Mountains, where he landed his troops, and sent the ships back to Brundisium to bring over the legions that were left behind. Pompey had for a considerable time been assembling troops from all the eastern countries. When he left Italy he had only five legions; but since his arrival at Dyrrachium he had been reinforced with one from Sicily, another from Crete, and two from Syria. Three thousand archers, six cohorts of slingers, and seven thousand horse had been sent him by princes in alliance with Rome. All the free cities of Asia had reinforced his army with their best troops. Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Palæstine, Egypt, and all the nations from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates took up arms in his favour. He had almost all the Roman knights, the flower of the young nobility, in his squadrons, and his legions consisted mostly of veterans inured to dangers, and the toils of war. Pompey himself was a general of great experience and address, and had under him some of the best commanders of the republic.

*Arrives in
Chaonia.*

*Pompey
assembles
numerous
forces.*

His navy consisted of above five hundred ships of war, besides a much greater number of small vessels, which were continually cruising on the coasts, and intercepting such ships as carried arms or provisions to the enemy. He had likewise with him above two hundred senators, who formed a more numerous senate than that at Rome. Cornelius Lentulus, and Claudius Marcellus, the last year's consuls, presided in it, under the direction of Pompey, their protector, who ordered them to assemble at Theſſalonica, where he built a magnificent hall for that purpose. There, in one of their assemblies, at the motion of Cato it was decreed, that no Roman citizen should be put to death but in battle, and that no city subject to the republic should be sacked. At the same time the fathers assembled at Theſſalonica decreed, that they alone represented the Roman senate; and that those who resided at Rome were encouragers of tyranny, and friends to the tyrant. As the flower of the nobility was with Pompey, and the most virtuous men in the republic had taken refuge in his camp, he was generally looked upon as the only hope and support of the public liberty. Hence many persons of eminence, who had hitherto stood neuter, flocked to him from

His navy.

*Senators,
and other
persons of
great distinction,
in
his camp.*

from all parts; among these were young Brutus, who afterwards conspired against Cæsar, Tadius Sextius, and Labienus. Brutus, whose father had been put to death in Galatia by Pompey's order, had never spoken to him, nor even saluted him since that time; but now looking upon him as the defender of the public liberty, he joined his army, and sacrificed his private resentment to the interest of the public. Pompey received him with great joy, and was willing to confer upon him some command; but he declined the offer, desiring Pompey to bestow such marks of distinction on others who better deserved them, both in consideration of their age and employments. Tadius Sextius, though extremely old and lame, yet left Rome, and went as far as Macedonia to join Pompey. Labienus likewise forsook his old benefactor, under whom he had served during the whole course of the Gaulish war, and went over to his rival, though Cæsar had appointed him commander in chief of all the forces on the other side the Alps. In short, Pompey's party grew into such reputation, that his cause was generally called the *good cause*, while Cæsar's adherents were looked upon as enemies to their country, and abettors of tyranny.

*Cæsar takes
Oricum
and Apollonia.*

Cæsar, on his first landing, marched to Oricum, the nearest city to him in Epirus, and made himself master of it without opposition, L. Torquatus, who was governor of the place for Pompey, having abandoned it at his approach. From thence he advanced to Apollonia, which stood on the confines of Macedon. This important place likewise surrendered as soon as Cæsar appeared before it, Staberius, Pompey's governor, not being in a condition to stand a siege. By these two conquests Cæsar opened himself a way to Dyrrachium, a city on the confines of Macedon, where Pompey had fixed his magazines of arms and provisions. In the mean time news were brought to Cæsar, that his fleet, which he had sent back to Brundisium, to transport the rest of his troops, had been attacked by a squadron of Pompey's fleet, under the command of Bibulus, who had taken thirty of them, and inhumanly burnt them with the seamen on board. This disaster gave Cæsar great uneasiness, the more because he was at the same time informed, that Bibulus with a hundred and ten ships of war had taken possession of all the ports and harbours between Salonium and Oricum;

*Part of his
fleet de-
stroyed.*

... Plut. in Pomp.

so that the legions at Brundisium could not venture to cross the sea without manifest danger of falling into the enemy's hands.

Thus embarrassed, he made new proposals of an accommodation, sending Vibullius Rufus, an intimate friend of Pompey's, whom he had twice taken prisoner, to propose to him the following terms; that they should both disband their armies in three days, renew their former friendship with solemn oaths, and return together to Italy. With these proposals Rufus, who was in pain for Dyrrachium, hastened to Pompey's camp, travelling night and day without allowing himself any rest. Upon his arrival he found that Pompey had not yet received advice of Cæsar's arrival; but he no sooner informed him of the reduction of Oricum and Apollonia, than he immediately decamped, and by long marches reached Dyrrachium before Cæsar, and encamped under the walls of the city. Cæsar was likewise advancing towards Dyrrachium, in hopes of surprising that important place; but upon the unexpected news of Pompey's arrival, he halted on the other side of the river Apsus, and entrenched himself, having but a small number of troops with him, if compared with Pompey's formidable army. The two armies continued some time quiet in their respective posts. As to the proposals of an accommodation, Pompey, suspecting Cæsar's sincerity, answered, that he would not listen to any terms, lest it should be said, that he owed his life and return to Italy to Cæsar's favour. Nevertheless, Cæsar, either to gain time, or to avoid the reproach of obstinacy, sent Vatinius to treat with Pompey in his name. Labienus was deputed to receive his proposals; but while they were conferring together, a party of Pompey's men coming up to them, discharged a shower of darts at Vatinius, and those who attended him: some of the centurions of his guard were wounded, and Vatinius himself narrowly escaped with his life^t.

Makes new proposals of an accommodation;

which are rejected by Pompey.

As Cæsar had not a sufficient force to engage the enemy, he wrote repeatedly to Marc Antony, who commanded the legions he had left in Italy, pressing him to hasten their embarkation. Antony, either because he wanted transports, or was afraid of the enemy's numerous squadrons, which almost covered the sea, still continued at Brundisium, a delay which filled Cæsar with many uneasy reflections. Sometimes he accused Antony of cowardice, and sometimes suspected him of treachery, as if he

^t Cæsar, Bell. Civil. lib. iii. cap. 19.

designed

*Cæsar's
bold at-
tempt.*

designed to revolt, and make a third party in the republic. His impatience and uneasiness prompted him to a bold attempt, which nothing could excuse but the extraordinary confidence he always had in his own good fortune. He disguised himself in the habit of a slave, and secretly went on board a fisherman's bark, which lay in the river Anius, or, as Strabo calls it, Aous, with a design to go over to Brundisium, though the enemy's fleet was cruising on the coasts of Greece and Italy. The vessel weighed anchor in the beginning of the night, and fell down the river without any difficulty; but a strong wind sprang up all on a sudden, so that the rowers, after having struggled a long time with the waves and winds, which continually drove them back into the river, began to despair of accomplishing the voyage. Then Cæsar, having hitherto remained silent, discovered himself to the master of the vessel, who was greatly surprised, and taking him by the hand, "Go on boldly, my friend, (said he), and fear nothing; thou carriest Cæsar and his fortune with thee." The mariners, encouraged by Cæsar's presence, used extraordinary efforts, and got out to sea; but the storm was so violent, that Cæsar, despairing of being able to reach Italy, suffered the pilot to return to the coast, where his soldiers met him, and expressed, with tenderness and respect, their concern to see him so uneasy for want of more troops, as if he could not gain a victory with those who were present.

*Part of
Cæsar's
troops cut
off in Illy-
ricum.*

*Marc An-
tony ar-
rives with
supplies for
Cæsar.*

Cæsar was no sooner landed than he dispatched Posthumus, one of his lieutenants, with pressing orders to Marc Antony, Gabinus, and Calenus, to bring the troops to him at all hazards. Gabinus, unwilling to expose all the hopes of his general to the hazards of the sea, thought it safer to march about by Illyricum, and therefore engaged all the legionaries he could to follow him by land; but the Illyrians, who had declared for Pompey, unexpectedly appeared, and killed him and his troops, not one escaping. Marc Antony and Calenus, who went by sea, were in the greatest danger from one of Pompey's admirals; but had the good luck to bring their troops safe to shore at Nymphæum, in the neighbourhood of Apollonia. When it was known that Antony had landed, Pompey marched to prevent his joining Cæsar; but Cæsar instantly decamped, and hastening to the relief of his lieutenant, joined him before Pompey came up. Then Pompey, not thinking it

•Plut. in Cæsare.

prudent

prudent to engage them when united, retired to an advantageous post in the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium, known by the name of Asparagium, and there encamped. Cæsar having thus got all his troops together, resolved to finish the war by one general action, and determine the fate of the world, either by his own death, or by that of his rival. To this end he offered Pompey battle, and kept his army for some time drawn up in sight of the enemy. Pompey declining an engagement, Cæsar decamped, and turned towards Dyrrachium, as if he designed to surprise it, hoping by this motion to draw the enemy into the plain; but Pompey, looking upon the taking of Dyrrachium as a chimerical project, followed Cæsar at some distance, and letting him draw near to the city, encamped on a hill called Petra, which commanded the sea, whence he could be supplied with provisions from Greece and Asia, while Cæsar was forced to bring corn by land from Epirus, at a vast expence, and through many dangers.

Cæsar offers Pompey battle, which he declines.

Under this inconvenience Cæsar formed the design to surround an army far more numerous than his own, and by shutting them up within a tract of ground, distress them as much for want of forage as his troops were distressed for want of corn. He accordingly drew a line of circumvallation from the sea quite round Pompey's camp, and kept him so closely blocked up, that though his men were plentifully supplied with provisions by sea, yet the horses of his army began soon to die for want of forage. Cæsar's forces, though in the utmost distress for want of corn, yet bore all with incredible cheerfulness, protesting, that they would rather live upon the bark of trees than suffer Pompey to escape now they had him in their power (K). At length Pompey, alarmed at the distempers which began to reign in his army, made several attempts to break through the barriers that inclosed him, but was always repulsed with loss * (L).

Cæsar besieges Pompey in his camp.

Pompey

* Cæsar. Bell. Civil. lib. iii. cap. 52.

(K) Cæsar tells us, that in this extremity such of the army as had been in Sardinia, found out the way of making bread of a certain root called clæra, which they steeped in milk; and that when the enemy insulted them on account of the starving condition which they

were in, they threw several of these loaves among them, to destroy all hopes of subduing them by famine. "So long as the earth produces such roots (said they) we will not let Pompey escape."

(L) One day Pompey himself attacked one of the enemy's castles;

Pompey resolves to force Cæsar's lines.

Pompey being reduced to extremity for want of forage, resolved to force the enemy's lines, and retreat. With the assistance therefore, and by the advice of two deserters, he embarked his archers, slingers, and light-armed infantry, and marching by land at the head of sixty cohorts, went to attack that part of Cæsar's lines which was next to the sea, and not yet quite finished. He set out from his camp in the night, and arriving at the post he designed to force by break of day, began the attack by sea and land at the same time. The ninth legion, which defended that part of the lines, made, for some time, a vigorous resistance; but being attacked in the rear by Pompey's party, who came by sea, and landed between Cæsar's lines, they fled with such precipitation, that the succours Marcellinus sent them from a neighbouring post could not stop their flight. The ensign who carried the Roman eagle at the head of the routed legion, was mortally wounded; but nevertheless, before he died, had presence of mind to consign the eagle to the cavalry of his party, desiring them to deliver it to Cæsar. Pompey's troops pursued the fugitives, and made such a slaughter of them, that all the centurions of the first cohort were cut off, except one. Pompey's army broke in upon the posts Cæsar had fortified, and were advancing to attack Marcellinus, who guarded a neighbouring fort; but Marc Antony coming to his

castles; on which occasion M. Cassius Scæva, a soldier of fortune, at that time centurion, distinguished himself in the defence of the castle in a very eminent manner. He withstood the efforts of the enemy almost alone, made a great slaughter of them, and though he was wounded on the head, had lost an eye, and was run quite through the body, yet he maintained the fight till Sylla, one of Cæsar's lieutenants, brought two legions from the camp to his relief, and then Pompey was forced to retire. This castle was defended by one cohort only of the sixth le-

gion, which held out against the utmost efforts of Pompey at the head of four complete legions. Every soldier of the cohort was wounded, Pompey's soldiers having discharged at them, during the attack, above thirty thousand arrows, of which the brave Cassius received two hundred and thirty on his shield. Cæsar, therefore, made him a present of two hundred thousand sesterces, raised him to the post of primipilus, or first centurion of the legion, and allotted the whole cohort double pay, and double allowance of provisions ever after (i).

(i) Cæsar Bell. Civil. lib. iii. cap. 53, Lucan. lib. vi. Suet. in Julio.

relief

relief with twelve cohorts, they thought it advisable to retire.

Soon after Cæsar arrived with a strong reinforcement, and posted himself on the shore, in order to prevent such attempts for the future. From this post he observed an old camp, which he had made within the place where Pompey was inclosed, but afterwards abandoned. Upon his quitting it, Pompey had taken possession, and left a legion to guard it. This post Cæsar resolved to reduce, hoping to repair the loss he had sustained on this unfortunate day, by taking the legion which Pompey had posted there: he advanced secretly, at the head of thirty-three cohorts in two lines, and arriving at the old camp before Pompey could have notice of his march, attacked it with great vigour, forced the first intrenchment, notwithstanding the brave resistance of Titus Pulcio, and penetrated to the second, where the legion had retired. Here his fortune changed on a sudden: his right wing, in looking for an entrance into the camp, marched along the outside of a trench, which Cæsar had formerly carried on from the left angle of his camp, about four hundred paces to a neighbouring river; this trench they mistook for the rampart of the camp, and being led away, by that mistake, from their left wing, they were soon after prevented from rejoining it by the arrival of Pompey, who came up at the head of a legion, and a large body of horse. Then the legion, which Cæsar had attacked, made a vigorous sally, drove them back to the first entrenchment, which they had seized, and there put them in great disorder, while they were attempting to pass the ditch. Pompey, falling upon them with his cavalry in flank, completed their defeat; and then flying to the enemy's right wing, which had passed the trench, and was shut up between it and the ramparts of the old camp, made a dreadful slaughter.

In this distress, Cæsar attempted to stop the flight of his legionaries, but to no purpose; the standard-bearers threw down the Roman eagles, and left them in the hands of the enemy, who, on this occasion, took thirty-two standards; a disgrace which Cæsar had never suffered before. He was himself in danger of falling by the hand of one of his own soldiers, whom he took hold of when flying, bidding him face about; but the man, apprehensive of the danger he was in, drew his sword, and would have killed his general, had not one of his guards prevented the blow, by cutting off his arm. Cæsar lost on this occasion nine hundred and sixty of his foot, four hundred

Cæsar attempts to take one of Pompey's posts.

Is repulsed with loss.

Endeavours to stop the flight of his men.

hundred of his horse, five tribunes, and thirty-two centurions (O).

*He retires
into Macedon.*

This loss and disgrace greatly mortified Cæsar, but did not discourage him. After he had, by his lenity and eloquent speeches, recovered the spirits of his troops, he decamped, and retired in good order to Apollonia, where he paid his troops, and left his sick and wounded. From thence he marched into Macedon, where Scipio Metellus, Pompey's father-in-law, was encamped. He hoped either to draw his rival into some plain, or to overpower Scipio, if not assisted. He met with great difficulties on his march, the countries through which he passed refusing to supply his army with provisions; to such a degree was his reputation sunk since his last defeat! On his entering Thessaly he was met by Domitius, one of his lieutenants, whom he had sent with three legions to reduce Epirus. Having now got all his forces together, he marched directly to Gomphi, the first town of Thessaly, which had been formerly in his interest, but now declared against him. He attacked it with so much vigour, that though the garrison was very numerous, and the walls of an uncommon height, he made himself master of it in a few hours. From hence he marched to Metropolis, another considerable town of Thessaly, which immediately surrendered; as did all the other cities of the country, except Larissa, of which Scipio had taken possession.

*Reduces
several
towns in
Thessaly.*

*Pompey
pursues
him.*

Pompey, being continually importuned by the senators and officers of his army, left his camp at Dyrrachium, and followed Cæsar, resolved not to give him battle, but rather to distress him, by straitening his quarters, and cutting off his convoys. As he had frequent opportunities of coming to an engagement, but always declined it, his friends and subalterns began to put unfavourable constructions on his conduct; and some of them openly ridiculed him.

These, together with the complaints of his soldiers, impelled him at length to venture a general action. With

Plut. in Cæs. & Pomp. Suet. in Julio.

(O) Had Pompey attacked Cæsar's camp during this panic, he might have easily put an end to the war at one blow; but being afraid of an ambuscade, he pursued the enemy to the gates of their camp, and then returned, without making any farther attempts. Cæsar owned that he would have been lost without redress, had Pompey known how to make use of his victory.

this

this design he marched into a large plain near the cities of Pharfalia and Thebes, which latter was also called Philippi, from Philip, king of Macedon, and the father of Perſes, who, having reduced the Thebans, placed a colony of Macedonians in their city. This plain was watered by the Enipeus, and ſurrounded by high mountains; and Pompey, who was ſtill averſe from venturing an engagement, pitched his camp on the declivity of a ſteep mountain, in a place altogether inacceſſible. There he was joined by Scipio, his father-in-law, at the head of the legions which he had brought with him from Syria and Cilicia. Notwithſtanding this reinforcement, he continued irrefolute, and unwilling to put all to the iſſue of a ſingle action, being convinced of the wiſdom of his maxim, that it was better to deſtroy the enemy by fatigues and want, than to engage an army of brave veterans, who were almoſt reduced to deſpair. As he put off from day to day, under various pretences, deſcending into the plain where Cæſar was encamped, his officers forced him to call a council of war, when they unani- mouſly declared for venturing a general action the next day. Thus was Pompey obliged to ſacrifice his own judgment to the blind ardor of the multitude; and the neceſſary meaſures were taken for a general engagement (P).

Pompey unwilling to engage.

Is forced by his officers to venture an engagement.

When

(P) Plutarch and Cæſar tell us, that Pompey's officers were ſo confident of victory, that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, quarrelled, as if they had already conquered, which of them ſhould ſucceed Cæſar in the office of pontifex maximus. Others ſent to Rome, to hire ſuch houſes as were ſuitable to the ranks of conſuls and prætors, as being ſure of entering upon thoſe offices as ſoon as the battle was over. Some put in for the forfeited eſtates of thoſe who followed Cæſar. Spinther reſerved, for his ſhare, Cæſar's gardens and houſe at Baizæ, and the houſe of Hortenſius. The conſuls were ſettled for ſeveral years,

but a warm diſpute aroſe about the choice of prætors: the relations of Hirtius, whom Pompey had ſent againſt the Parthians, inſiſted, that regard ſhould be had for him, though abſent. In ſhort, their thoughts ran not ſo much on conquering, as in what manner they ſhould ſhare and enjoy the fruits of their conqueſt, as if they were to engage, ſays Plutarch, Tigranes the Armenian, or ſome petty king of Nabathæa, and not that Cæſar who had ſtormed a thouſand towns, ſubdued above three hundred different nations, gained innumerable victories, taken a million of men priſoners, and ſlain as many upon the ſpot

*Pompey's
speech to
his men.*

When the day came on which the fate of the world was to be decided, Pompey having assembled his troops, made the following speech, which is recorded by several writers: "As I have been induced by your ardor to venture a battle, contrary to my own judgment, let me see you behave in it with bravery. As you surpass the enemy in numbers, strive to do so in courage and resolution. Look back with pleasure on the glorious battle of Dyrrachium; maintain the glory you there acquired, and suffer not the best cause to sink under the desperate attempts of one whose intention is to deprive you of your liberty, and change the republic into a monarchy. Remember that Pompey leads you, that the authority of the senate supports you, and the gods protect you." Having thus spoken, he caused the gates of the camp to be opened, and marched out at the head of his army. Cæsar was so far from expecting to engage that day, that he had already given the signal for decamping, with a design to march towards Scorufa, his army wanting forage and provisions. While his soldiers were busy in taking down their tents, and sending away their cattle, servants, and baggage before them, intelligence was brought by scouts, that they had seen arms carried to and fro in the enemy's camp; and that they had heard a noise and bustle, as of men preparing for battle. In a little time other intelligence was received, that the enemies were marching out of their entrenchments, and that the first ranks were already formed in the plain.

*He marches
into the
plain.*

*Cæsar pre-
pares for
battle.*

Cæsar, transported with joy at the news, told his men, that the so much wished-for day was come, when they should fight with men, not with hunger and famine. Then he ordered the red standard, the usual signal of battle among the Romans, to be placed before his tent; which was no sooner observed by the soldiers, than they left their tents, and, with loud shouts of joy, took to their arms. The officers drew up their respective corps, every man falling into his proper rank without any

in pitched battles. This presumption was founded on the number of their forces: for Pompey's army consisted of forty-five thousand foot, seven thousand horse, well mounted and armed, and a great number of dartmen and slingers: whereas Cæsar had at most but twenty-two thousand foot, and a thousand horse (1).

(1) Appian. Plut. Cæsar, *ibid*:

trouble

trouble or noise. Cæsar, when he had drawn up his men, ordered three legions to level the ramparts, and fill up the ditches of his camp, telling them with confidence, that they should lodge that night in Pompey's camp.

The trenches being levelled, he harangued his troops, according to custom, but with such an air of satisfaction, as was sufficient to have inspired cowards with courage. "Fellow-soldiers (said he), the worst part of our labours is now past. To-day we are not to fight with hunger and want, but with men; nay, with those very men who left Italy, because they could not stand before us, and who would deprive us of the honours due for a long course of victories. If, therefore, you have any grateful sense of my benevolence and bounty, let it now exert itself; and remember your promises at Dyrrachium. You there vowed, that you would conquer or die; and it is no difficult matter for veterans to conquer raw soldiers, when they fight under a general who, I know is driven to a battle contrary to his judgment. This I say of the Italians only; as for the Asiatics, give yourselves no concern about them; their own fears will disperse them. Exert, therefore, all your valour against the Roman legions, and Italian cohorts. I have levelled the trenches, that you may have no resource but in victory, and that the enemy may see we are determined to lodge in their camp by destroying our own." Then he marched into the plain, where he regulated his disposition according to the observations he made of the enemy².

*Cæsar's
speech to
his soldiers.*

Pompey was on the left wing, with the two legions which Cæsar had restored to him at the beginning of the war. Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was in the centre, with the legions he had brought from Syria, and the reinforcements sent by several kings and states of Asia. The Cilician legion, and some cohorts which had served in Spain, were on the right, under the command of Afranius. As Pompey's right wing was covered by the Enipeus, he strengthened the left with his slingers, archers, and the seven thousand Roman horse on whom chiefly his party founded their hopes of victory. The whole army was drawn up in three lines, with very little spaces between them. In conformity to this disposition, Cæsar's army was drawn up in the following order: the tenth legion, which had on all occasions signalized themselves

*The disposition of
the two
armies.*

² Plut. in Pomp. & Cæsar.

above the rest, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been considerably weakened in the action at Dyrrachium, the eighth legion was posted so near, as to be able to support and reinforce it when necessary. The rest of Cæsar's forces filled up the space between the two wings. Marc Antony commanded the left wing, Sylla the right, and Cneius Domitius Calvinus the main body. Cæsar posted himself on the right over-against Pompey, that he might have him always in sight (Q).

Thus was the whole plain covered, from Pharsalia to the Enipeus, with two armies, dressed and armed after the same manner, and bearing the same ensigns, the Roman eagles. Pompey observing how well the enemy kept their ranks, expecting quietly the signal of battle; and, on the contrary, how impatient and unsteady his own men were, running up and down in great disorder, for want of experience, he began to be afraid, lest his ranks should be broken upon the first onset; and therefore commanded the foot in the front to keep their ground, and quietly wait for the enemy. The two armies, though within reach of each other, kept for some time a mournful silence, which might possibly proceed from the reflections of both parties.

Yr. of Fl.

^{2305.}
Ante Chr.

^{43.}
U. C. 705.

At length the trumpets sounded the charge; and Cæsar's army advanced in good order to begin the attack, being encouraged by the example of Caius Crastinus, a centurion, who, at the head of a hundred and twenty men, threw himself upon the enemy's first line with incredible

(Q) His army was likewise drawn up in three lines, but with larger spaces between the corps. Pompey, as we have observed above, placed his whole body of horse in the left wing, in order to distress and cut off the tenth legion, at the head of which Cæsar always fought in person. Cæsar, who had only a thousand horse to oppose the enemy's seven thousand, supplied that defect with a body of infantry, which he picked out of the legionaries of the third line, and formed into six cohorts. These he placed be-

hind the tenth legion, commanding them to advance to the front as soon as the enemy's cavalry should charge, and, together with the legionaries, sustain the first onset of the cavalry. He likewise commanded them not to discharge their javelins at a distance, but first to close with the enemy, and then aim only at the faces of the horsemen, who were, for the most part, young patricians; and therefore would be more solicitous about preserving their beauty than gaining a victory.

sur.

fury. Cæsar meeting him as he was going out of his tent in the morning, had asked him, "What his opinion was touching the event of the battle." To which he, stretching out his hand, replied aloud, "Thine is the victory, Cæsar; thou shalt gloriously conquer, and I myself this day will be the subject of thy praise either dead or alive." In pursuance of this promise, he left his rank, as soon as the trumpets sounded; and, at the head of his company, ran in upon the enemy, and made a great slaughter; but while he still pressed forward, forcing his way through the first line, he was killed by one of Pompey's soldiers.

*Battle of
Pharalia,*

While the foot were sharply engaged in the centre, Pompey's horse in the left wing marching up with a design to surround Cæsar's right wing, charged his cavalry, and forced him to give ground. Cæsar ordered his horse to retreat a little, and gave way to the six cohorts, which he had posted in the rear, as a body of reserve. These, upon a signal given, advancing, charged the enemy's horse with that resolution and good order which is peculiar to men who have spent their lives in camps. They remembered their instructions, and with their swords and javelins aimed only at the faces of the enemy. This unexpected and new manner of fighting had the desired effect: the young patricians, whom Cæsar contemptuously calls the pretty young dancers, to avoid being deformed by scars, covered their faces with their hands, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving the foot at the mercy of the enemy. Cæsar's troops did not pursue the fugitives, but charging the infantry of that wing, now naked and unguarded, surrounded and defeated them with great slaughter.

*Cæsar's
cavalry
giving
ground,
are re-
lieved by
his foot,
who put
Pompey's
cavalry to
flight.*

Pompey was so affected at seeing the flower of his forces thus put to flight, or cut in pieces, that he left his army, and retired slowly towards his camp, looking more like a man distracted than one who, by his exploits, had acquired the surname of the Great. Upon entering the camp, he retired to his tent in silence, and continued there like a person deprived of his senses, till his whole army was defeated. Cæsar was no sooner master of the field, than he marched to attack the enemy's entrenchments. When Pompey was informed that his rival was advancing to attack his entrenchments, he then seemed to have recovered his senses, and cried out, "What! into my camp too?" He said no more; but immediately laying aside the marks of his dignity, and putting on such a garment as might best favour his flight, he retired at the

*Pompey's
army de-
feated.*

*Cæsar
makes him-
self master
of Pompey's
camp.*

decuman gate, and took the road to Larissa, which city had hitherto shewn great attachment to his cause. In the mean time, Cæsar began the attack on the enemy's camp, which was vigorously defended by the cohorts Pompey had left to guard it; but they were at length forced to yield (R). Cæsar was not a little surprised, when, after having forced the entrenchments, he found the enemy's tents and pavilions richly adorned with carpets and hangings, their couches strewed with flowers, their tables spread, and side-boards supplied with plate, bowls, and cups, some of them filled with wine. So great was the confidence of Pompey's party, that they made preparations for pleasures to be enjoyed after the victory, which they thought certain. In Pompey's tent Cæsar found the box in which he kept his letters; but, with a moderation and magnanimity worthy of himself, he burnt them all, without reading one, saying, that he had rather be ignorant of crimes than obliged to punish them *.

Next day, when the dead were numbered, it appeared that Cæsar had lost no more than two hundred men, among whom were about thirty centurions, whom he caused to be buried with great solemnity: he did particular honours to the body of Craſſinus, who had begun the

* Plut. in Pomp. & Cæsar. Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. ii. Dio Cass. lib. xli. Cæsar, Bell. Civil. lib. iii. cap. 60—91.

(R) Cæsar tells us, that the cohorts appointed to defend the camp made a vigorous resistance; but being overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he resolved to invest them: but before he had finished his lines, want of water obliged him to abandon that post, and retire towards Larissa. Cæsar pursued the fugitives at the head of the fourth legion; and, after six miles march, came up with them. But they, afraid to engage a victorious legion, led on by Cæsar, fled for refuge to a high hill, the foot of which was watered by a little river. Though Cæsar's troops were quite exhausted, and ready to

faint with the excessive heat and the fatigue of the day, yet, by his obliging manner, he prevailed upon them to cut off the conveniency of water from the enemy by a trench. This obliged the unfortunate fugitives to come to a capitulation, throw down their arms, and implore the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except some senators, who, as it was night, escaped in the dark. Cæsar received those who surrendered with all the clemency and kindness imaginable, forbidding his soldiers to offer them the least insult, or even to plunder their baggage.

battle,

battle, and ordered his ashes to be deposited in a tomb, which he erected to his memory. On Pompey's side, the number of the dead amounted to fifteen thousand according to some, and to twenty-five thousand according to others. Cæsar took twenty-four thousand prisoners, eight eagles, and a hundred and eighty ensigns. All the Roman citizens were immediately, by his orders, set at liberty; and it must be owned, that no conqueror ever took more pleasure than Cæsar in acts of clemency (S).

His clemency and moderation.

Cæsar, though victorious, could not think the work complete, while his rival lived. His fleets were still masters of the sea. Lælius, who commanded one of them, had lately besieged Vatinius, Cæsar's lieutenant in Brundisium, and Caius Cassius had burnt above forty of his galleys in the streights of Messina: besides, the remains of his troops might unite again, and, by the help of new levies and auxiliaries from foreign kings, make as formidable an army as the former; since Egypt, Africa, Numidia, Pontus, Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Galatia seemed to have espoused his cause with great zeal. Cato, whom Pompey had left at Dyrrachium with fifteen cohorts and three hundred galleys, might follow him, and renew the war in some other country: so that Pompey's party, though weakened, was not entirely destroyed. Cæsar, therefore, in order to complete the work, either by the death or captivity of his competitor, resolved to wave all other measures, and pursue Pompey into what part soever of the world he should retire. In consequence of this resolution, after he had staid two days at Pharsalia, to return thanks to the gods for the victory he had gained, and to refresh his soldiers, he set out on the third with his cavalry, advancing with great speed, while one legion followed him by more easy marches.

Cæsar resolves to pursue Pompey.

• Cæsar, Bell. Civil. lib. iii. Appian. lib. ii.

(S) He had always shewn a particular affection for young Marcus Brutus, whom he believed to be his own son, for he was passionately in love with Servilia, the mother of Brutus, who gave herself up entirely to him; and therefore, as he had sided with Pompey, and fought under his banners, he was in the ut-

most concern, at not seeing him appear after the battle; nor was his pleasure less, when he saw him safe. He received him with inexpressible joy, and marks of the most tender and sincere friendship; not suspecting then, that he would one day become an accomplice of his death.

*Pompey's
flight and
adven-
tures.*

As for Pompey, he took the route to Larissa, where he arrived with a small retinue, but would not enter the city, notwithstanding the pressing invitations of the inhabitants, lest their kindness to him should provoke Cæsar, and bring them into difficulties; he even exhorted them to submit to the conqueror, and have timely recourse to his clemency. From Larissa he pursued his route with L. Lentulus, the last year's consul, P. Lentulus, and the senator Favonius: in the evening he reached the vale of Tempe in Thessaly, fatigued, and destitute of all necessaries. There, as he was very thirsty, he kneeled down, and drank out of a river which watered that fruitful plain: he then crossed the valley, and arriving at the sea-side, took shelter in a poor fisherman's cottage, where he passed the remainder of the night. How dreadful this night must have been, not so much on account of the inconveniences of the place, as of his own tormenting reflections, we leave the reader to judge. Next morning, by break of day, he went into a small boat on the river Peneus, and taking his freedmen along with him, dismissed his slaves, advising them to go directly to Cæsar, and not be afraid. As he was rowed in the boat along the shore, he saw a great ship riding at anchor, and ready to set sail. The master of the ship, named Peticius, a Roman citizen, knowing Pompey, took him aboard, together with the two Lentuli, Favonius, and a few attendants. Perceiving Deiotarus, tetrach of Galatia, who had served under Pompey, and made his escape after the battle, flying with speed towards the shore, they waited to take him also on board. The ship pursued her course, touched at Amphipolis, on the confines of Thrace and Macedon, where Pompey supplied himself with money for his necessary expences. Thence he sailed to one of the ports of the island of Lesbos, with a design to take in his wife Cornelia, and his son Sextus, whom, in the beginning of the war, he had sent to Mitylene, the capital of the island.

*Pompey
arrives at
the island
of Lesbos.*

*His wife
Cornelia
informed
of his mis-
fortune.*

He no sooner arrived in the port, than he sent a messenger into the city, not choosing to go ashore in person, with news very different from what Cornelia expected; for she having heard no tidings from her husband since his success near Dyrrachium, believed that the war was ended; and that there was nothing more remaining for Pompey than to pursue Cæsar, and disperse the wretched remains of his army. The messenger, finding her still in this persuasion, informed her of the misfortune of her husband with his tears, before he could deliver her any message;

message; and the unfortunate Cornelia no sooner heard of his defeat, and forlorn condition, than she fell down in a swoon, and continued a long time bereft of sense. When she came to herself, she hastened to the sea-side, where the sight of Pompey renewed her grief. She fainted away a second time in his arms; and, as soon as she recovered her speech, she vented her passion in the most pathetic exclamations of grief. Pompey embraced her with marks of the most tender affection; and endeavoured to comfort her with hopes of a change of fortune, while his heart was bursting with sorrow and despondence. The Mitylenians, who ran to the port to pay their homage to their old protector, were witnesses of this interview, and being touched with compassion, invited Pompey into their city: but he, returning them thanks for their kind invitation, answered, that he would by no means enter their gates, lest he should draw upon them the resentment of the conqueror, to whom he advised them to submit, since he was a man of great goodness and clemency. Then turning to Cratippus the philosopher, who then lived at Mitylene, and came with the rest to pay his respects to his old friend, he began to repine, and argue with him touching the dispensations of Providence. Cratippus modestly declined the dispute, to avoid heightening his sorrow, and only encouraged him to bear with constancy his present misfortunes.

The meeting of Pompey and Cornelia.

Pompey, having taken his wife and friends aboard, sailed from Mitylene, steering his course towards Cilicia. The first place he touched at was Attalia, a city of Pamphylia, where he found sixty senators of his party, seven or eight ships of his fleet, and some bands of soldiers. Here he was informed, that Cato had collected a considerable body of troops, and passed with them over into Africa. From Pamphylia he sailed with his small fleet for the island of Cyprus, where he received advice, that the Rhodians had refused to admit into their ports one of the Lentuli and his attendants; and that Antioch, the capital of Syria, had, at the instigation of the Roman citizens, who traded there, declared for Cæsar. Being therefore at a loss whither he should steer his course next, he summoned a council of the few faithful friends who followed him, to consider what place would yield him the safest refuge and retreat, in the present situation of his affairs. Some advised him to pass over into Africa, and there join Juba king of Mauritania, who had espoused his cause, and exerted himself in it with uncommon zeal.

Pompey

*Theophanes
persuades
Pompey to
fly into
Egypt.*

Pompey was for retiring into Parthia, as the only country that was likely to protect him in his present distress, and supply him with a sufficient force to oppose his competitor. This was looked upon by his friends as the project of a man overwhelmed with grief, and reduced to despair: they observed, that the Parthians were the most inveterate enemies of the Roman name; that they had hitherto stood neuter, and declared, that they would not espouse either party; that they were overjoyed to see the republic weakened by her own forces; and that it was dangerous to expose the young and beautiful Cornelia to the brutalities of a dissolute court. This last motive, which was of more weight than all the rest with Pompey, induced him to drop the design of seeking protection among the enemies of Rome, though he was perplexed where to find a safe retreat among her friends and allies. Of those who attended the illustrious Roman in his flight, Theophanes, a native of Mitylene, had a great influence over Pompey; this he made use of on the present occasion, persuading him to retire to Egypt, which was but a voyage of three days, where he had reason to expect from young Ptolemy, his pupil, all possible assistance, since he had lately restored his father to his kingdom, which favour the young prince had gratefully acknowledged, by sending him a fleet to be employed against Cæsar. This advice prevailed, Pompey and Cornelia, with their attendants, weighed anchor, and leaving Cyprus, steered towards Egypt, some in galleys, others in ships of burden.

*Cæsar pur-
sues him.*

In the mean time Cæsar, wholly intent on pursuing his rival, arrived at the Hellespont, which he ventured to cross with a small number of galleys; but was met in his passage by Pompey's fleet, under the command of Caius Cassius. Cæsar did not avoid the enemy, though the fleet he commanded consisted of no more than seventy ships; but boldly advancing to Cassius, summoned him to surrender. That commander, struck with the intrepidity and good fortune of Cæsar, obeyed the summons, and joined him with his numerous fleet^c. Cæsar, on his arrival in Asia, to gratify Theopompus, who had made a collection of fables, enfranchised the Cnidians his countrymen, and remitted one third of the taxes to all the Asiatics. He likewise received under his protection the Ionians, Æolians, and other nations of Asia Minor, who came to submit to him,

*Caius Cas-
sius joins
Cæsar.*

*The Asiatics
submit to
him.*

^c Plut. in Pomp. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 53. Dio, lib. xlii. ^d Suet. in Jul. Cæs. cap. 63. Appian. p. 482, 483,

and implore his protection. As he could have no certain account of the route Pompey had taken, he resolved to hasten to Egypt, fearing his rival should get possession of that rich and wealthy kingdom, rally his forces there, and, with the assistance of young Ptolemy, renew the war. With this design he sailed for Rhodes, where he stayed till he was joined by two legions from the continent, and then sailed for Egypt, without communicating his resolution to any person but M. Brutus, in whom he reposed an entire confidence.

Pompey arrived in Egypt before Cæsar. Being informed that Ptolemy was at war with his sister, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, he steered his course that way, and sent a messenger before to acquaint the king with his arrival, and implore his protection. The king, who was very young, returned no answer to the messenger; but Photinus, Achilles, and Theodotus, who were the young prince's chief counsellors, and had the greatest influence over him, consulted among themselves about the conduct to be observed on this occasion. Photinus was the chief minister of state, Achilles the general of the armies, and Theodotus, a mercenary teacher of rhetoric, who was in great esteem with the king, his preceptor. While they were consulting, Pompey, at anchor a great distance from the shore, was forced to wait the result of their deliberations. Photinus and Achilles were for receiving Pompey, thinking it would be a reproach to the Egyptian nation to abandon one in his distress, who had been guardian, friend, and zealous benefactor to their king; but Theodotus undertook to prove, that it was equally dangerous in that juncture of affairs to admit or refuse him admittance. "If we receive him," said he, "we shall make Cæsar our enemy, and Pompey our master: if we dismiss him, we shall render ourselves obnoxious to Pompey for that inhospitable expulsion, and to Cæsar for letting him escape." He concluded, that the safest expedient was to send for him, and put him to death; for in so doing, they would ingratiate themselves with the one, and have no reason to fear the other; adding with a smile, "A dead man cannot bite."

Pompey arrives on the coast of Egypt.

Theodotus advises the Egyptians to put Pompey to death.

This cruel advice was approved of, and the execution of it committed to Achilles, who, taking with him L. Septimius and Salvius, the former once a tribune, and the latter a centurion in the Roman armies, and three or

His advice approved of.

*Pompey's
reception.*

four other officers, went on board a small vessel, and made towards Pompey's galley, while the Egyptian army stood in battle-array on the shore. The chief men who attended Pompey, alarmed at the manœuvres of this reception, advised him to weigh anchor without delay, and stand out to sea; but he encouraged them, and in the mean time the Egyptian boat drawing near, Septimius, standing up first, saluted Pompey in Latin, giving him the title of imperator; Achilles complimented him in Greek, and invited him on board his vessel, telling him, that the sea was so shallow near the shore, that his galley could not avoid striking upon some rock. Pompey observing several of the king's gallees well manned, and the shore covered with soldiers, suspected some treachery; but nevertheless, without betraying the least distrust, he took leave of Cornelia, and commanding two centurions, with Philip, one of his freed-men, and a slave called Sennes, to go on board the Egyptian boat before him, he himself followed, repeating to his wife and son, as he went into the boat, the following iambics of Sophocles:

He who once falls into a tyrant's power,
Becomes a slave from that detested hour.

As those in the boat kept a profound silence, without paying the least civility, or speaking to him all the way, in order to begin a conversation with Septimius, Pompey, looking earnestly upon him, addressed him thus: "Methinks I know you, friend: have we not been formerly fellow-soldiers?" Septimius answered with a nod only. As they all continued silent, Pompey took a little book in his hand, wherein he had written a Greek oration, which he intended to speak to Ptolemy, and began to read it.

*Pompey
murdered.*

When the boat drew near the shore, Cornelia, who never lost sight of her husband, and was very impatient to see the event, observed several persons of distinction running to the sea-side to meet him. The disconsolate Cornelia was comforted, imagining they were come to wait upon Pompey, and conduct him to the king; but in that instant, as Philip, his freed-man, offered his hand to help him out of the boat, Septimius coming behind, ran him through with his sword; at the same time Achilles and Salvius falling upon him, the unfortunate Roman, having no means of defending himself, covered his face with his gown, yielded to his fate in silence, and with a groan expired. Cornelia, seeing the swords of the assassins glitter

glitter about him, uttered such a shriek as was heard on the shore; but the mariners on board her galley, seeing the Egyptian fleet under sail, immediately weighed anchor; being favoured by a brisk gale, the virtuous Cornelia, and her son Sextus, were saved from captivity, and the outrages they had reason to fear from such inhuman assassins. Cornelia and Sextus were conveyed safe to Cyprus; but some of the other vessels were taken by the Egyptians, and all those who were on board cruelly murdered¹.

The head of Pompey was cut off, in order to be embalmed for a present to Cæsar; but the body was thrown naked upon the shore, and there exposed to public view. Philip, the freed-man, attended it till the multitude had satisfied their curiosity, then washing it with sea-water, he wrapt it up in his garment, and finding some rotten planks of a little fishing-boat, he gathered them together for a funeral pile. While he was employed in laying them together, an old Roman, who had served from his youth under Pompey, came and helped him to perform the funeral rites. Such was the unworthy fate of Pompey, who had triumphed over three parts of the known world, and in his youth obtained the surname of Great, from the first warrior of the age in which he lived. Next day Lucius Lentulus, the last year's consul, who had left the island of Cyprus, and was sailing along the coast, observing a funeral pile, from some secret apprehension of Pompey's misfortune, came ashore, where being told by Philip that his apprehensions were too true, he said, sighing, "Alas! is this the fate of Pompey the Great?" and continuing immoveable, expressed his grief in a flood of tears. While he thus bewailed the death of Pompey, he was seized by the king's guards, and thrown into prison, where he was soon after put to death².

In the mean time Cæsar, in pursuit of Pompey, steered his course to Egypt, and arrived at Alexandria just as the news were brought thither of his death. Soon after he landed, and entered the city, when the head of his rival was presented to him, some say by Theodotus, others by Achilles, wrapped up in a veil, together with his seal, on which was engraved a lion, holding a sword in his paw: Cæsar, with the utmost horror, turned his eyes from so dismal an object. Reflecting on his former friendship

*Pompey's
body left
naked on
the shore.*

*Burnt by
one of his
freed-men.*

*Cæsar ar-
rives in
Egypt.*

¹ Plut. in Pomp. Liv. lib. cxii. Appian. p. 483. Vell. Patencul. lib. ii. cap. 53. Dio, lib. xlii. ² Plut. in Pomp. Cæf. Bell. Civil. lib. iii.

*Caesar
Pompey's
head to be
buried.*

*Caesar ex-
acts the
money owing
him by
Ptolemy's
father.*

with the deceased, the inconstancy of fortune, and the calamities which often attend the greatest men, he burst into tears, and with an angry voice, commanded the messenger immediately to be gone. He kept the seal, but ordered the head to be buried with great solemnity in the suburbs of Alexandria, where he erected a temple to Nemesis, the goddess of revenge. He prevailed upon Ptolemy to set at liberty all the friends of the deceased who had been taken straggling in that country, and by his orders thrown into prison. These all joined their benefactor, who received them with marks of sincere friendship, signifying in all the letters he wrote to his friends at Rome, that the greatest advantage and pleasure he reaped from his victory, was his saving every day the lives of some Roman citizens, who had taken arms against him^a.

Cæsar being detained at Alexandria by the Etesian winds (H), which blew in those parts during the dog-days, in the beginning of which he entered that port, spent his time in demanding the money which the present king's father owed him, and in hearing and deciding the controversy between young Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra. Auletes had engaged Cæsar, during his first consulate, by a promise of ten thousand talents, to get him confirmed in his kingdom by the Roman senate and people, and accounted among the friends and allies of that powerful state. Part only of this sum was then paid; and Cæsar, wanting money to maintain his army, exacted the rest with rigour: this Photinus, who was Ptolemy's prime minister, by several artifices, made appear to the people to be greater than it was; for he stripped the temples of all their silver and gold vessels, and ordered the king's table to be served in wooden and earthen dishes, reporting, in order to excite the mutinous populace of Alexandria against Cæsar, that he had seized all the silver and gold belonging to the temples of the gods, and to the king. He also measured out to Cæsar's soldiers, with a design to create a difference with him before he was joined by the rest of his troops, musty and unwholesome corn, telling him, when he complained, that he must take it and be con-

^a Plut. Appian. Cæs. ibid.

(H) By Etesian winds are meant such as blow at stated times of the year, from what part soever of the compass they come. They are so called from the Greek word *ἔτος*, a year, being yearly or anniversary winds, such as our seamen call monsoons and trade-winds.

tented,

tented, since his army was maintained at the cost of another. This contemptuous treatment provoked Cæsar, though he had then only three thousand two hundred foot, and eight hundred horse with him, to exact with more rigour the sum owing him; but Photinus, instead of paying it, pressed him every day to be gone, advising him to look after his other affairs, which were of greater consequence than such a paltry debt. Cæsar answered, that he was not come into Egypt to ask counsel, but to demand the money which the late king owed him, and to compose the differences between the present king and his sister Cleopatra, who were then at war with each other.

He then issued a peremptory order, enjoining each of them to disband their armies, and bring the cause to his tribunal for a final decision. This injunction was looked upon by the Egyptians as highly injurious to the sovereignty of their king, who being an independent prince, acknowledged no superior, and therefore was not to be judged by any man. Cæsar declared, that he did not take upon him to judge as a superior but as an arbitrator, appointed by the will of the late king, who had put his children under the tuition of the Roman people. The cause was brought before Cæsar, and advocates were appointed on both sides to plead at his tribunal; but the Roman general being captivated by the charms and graceful behaviour of Cleopatra, from a judge became her advocate, and betrayed a great inclination to favour her. This partiality provoked Ptolemy, who thereupon excited the city of Alexandria against Cæsar. The Roman soldiers, who were near the king, seized him, while he was encouraging the enraged multitude to take up arms in defence of their sovereign, and secured him in the house where their general lodged; but nevertheless, as the rest of Cæsar's forces were dispersed over the city in their quarters, he would have been overpowered, and torn in pieces by the populace, had he not from a balcony spoken to them, and declared, that the differences between Ptolemy and his sister should be soon adjusted, to the satisfaction of both.

Next day, having assembled the people, he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra to them; and then causing their father's will to be read, wherein it was ordered, that his eldest son and eldest daughter should, according to the custom of the country, be joined in marriage, and reign together, under the guardianship of the Roman people; he decreed, in virtue of that guardianship, which, he said,

was

Cæsar summons Ptolemy and Cleopatra before him.

A tumult in Alexandria.

Appeased by Cæsar's decrees.

was vested in him, that Ptolemy, as being the eldest son, and Cleopatra, as being the eldest daughter of the deceased king, should, according to the tenor of the said will, reign jointly; and that Ptolemy, the younger son of Auletes, and his other daughter named Arsinoe, should reign in Cyprus. This last kingdom he added by way of gift, to appease the people; for Cyprus had been some time before subdued by the Romans, and was then governed, like the other Roman provinces, by a prætor sent annually from Rome. Photinus was the only person in the assembly, who did not applaud this decree. As that minister had been the chief cause of the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and also of her expulsion from the kingdom, he was apprised, that both his life and authority would be brought into danger by her return, and therefore exerted his utmost endeavours to prevent the execution of the decree. He not only sowed new discontents among the people, but prevailed upon Achilles to bring his army, consisting of twenty thousand men, from Pelusium to Alexandria, in order to force Cæsar from the city. This measure gave rise to the Alexandrian war, of which we have given a particular account in our history of Egypt. King Ptolemy perishing in this war, Alexandria and all Egypt submitted to the conqueror, who settled Cleopatra, and the surviving Ptolemy, her younger brother, on the throne, as king and queen. In this war perished not only the king, but likewise Achilles and Photinus, with all the accomplices of Pompey's murder, except Theodotus, who abandoning Egypt for fear of Cæsar, wandered up and down, despised and hated by all men, till M. Brutus, after Cæsar's death, finding him in Asia, which was his province, caused him to be put to death, after he had made him suffer the most exquisite torments he could invent. The ashes of Pompey were some time after conveyed to Rome, and delivered to his wife Cornelia, who buried them at his country-house in the neighbourhood of Alba¹.

The Alexandrian war.

¹ Plut. in Pomp. Dio, Vell. Paterc. *ibid*.

C H A P. XLVIII.

The History of Rome, from the Death of Pompey to the Death of Cæsar.

WHEN the news of Pompey's death reached Rome, the senate and people strove who should bestow most honours on the conqueror, now absolute master of their liberties, lives, and fortunes. He was, by the unanimous consent of all the orders of the republic, proclaimed consul for five years; named dictator, contrary to the ancient custom, not for six months only, but for a whole year; declared tribune of the people, and head of that college, for his life; empowered to make peace and war with whom he pleased; and to levy what forces he thought necessary: so that all the dignities and power of the republic now centred in Cæsar, who, without any violence or proscriptions, was raised to a higher pitch of power and authority than Sylla had acquired by the death and banishment of so many citizens. As the new dictator could not then go in person to Rome, to take possession of the many dignities conferred upon him, he appointed Marc Antony his general of the horse, and sent him with a detachment of troops to the capital, committing to him the government of Italy during his absence.

*Honours
heaped
upon Cæsar
at Rome.*

The dictator, after he had put an end to the war of Alexandria, and settled his favourite Cleopatra on the throne of Egypt, was forced to quit that kingdom, and march into the north of Asia, against Pharnaces king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, son of Mithridates the Great, who, finding the Romans engaged in a civil war, had taken that opportunity to attempt the recovery of his father's dominions in Asia. In the beginning of the troubles he had raised a powerful army, and appointed Asander governor of Bosphorus in his absence, passed the Euxine Sea, and made himself master of Colchis, Armenia Minor, and several places in Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia. After the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar had sent Domitius Calvinus, with part of his army, against him, committing to his care the government of all the provinces of Asia Minor; but Pharnaces having overcome Domitius in a pitched battle, made himself master of the remaining parts of Pontus and Cappadocia. Elated by this success, he treated the Roman merchants and publicans, who re-

*Cæsar
marches
against
Pharnaces.*

sided at Amifus, the capital of Pontus, with great cruelty; and, having seized all Bithynia, was preparing to pass from thence into the province of Asia properly so called.

*Pardons
Deiotarus.*

This extraordinary progress roused Cæsar, who was wasting his time with Cleopatra, and put him again upon action. Having left part of his forces in Egypt, to protect that princess, he hastened with the rest into Syria; and, having appointed Sextus Cæsar, his relation, governor of that province, pursued his march northwards against Pharnaces. As he passed through Galatia, Deiotarus, who had sided with Pompey, and attended him in his flight, appeared before the dictator in the habit of a suppliant, stripped of his royal robes, begging he would extend to him the effects of that clemency which had gained him greater glory than all his victories. The dictator was not much affected either with his submission or praises; but nevertheless, being naturally inclined to mercy, he pardoned him, and restored the ensigns of royalty; but ordered him to send to his assistance the legion which he had trained up in the Roman discipline, and all his cavalry, to be employed against Pharnaces. With this reinforcement he entered the kingdom of Pontus, which Pharnaces had re-conquered, and, without giving any respite either to himself or his troops, or hearkening to the proposals of peace, which the king made with no other view than to gain time, he attacked him, and gained a complete victory; an account of which he wrote to his friend Aminitius, or Anitius in the following words: "Veni, vidi, vici; I came, I saw, I conquered." This victory, which was gained near the place where Triarius had been formerly defeated by Mithridates, repaired the honour of the Roman arms¹.

*Defeats
Pharnaces.*

*Sets out for
Rome.*

Cæsar, having settled the affairs of Asia, and left Cælius Vinicianus in Pontus, to keep that kingdom in awe, set out for Rome, attended only with one legion. He crossed over into Greece, obliging every where the publicans to bring to him the money, which, according to their engagements with the republic, they were to remit to the quaestors at Rome. His sudden arrival in Italy filled some with joy, others with fear, and kept the minds both of the senate and people in suspense. They were well acquainted with the humanity of his temper; but as

*Arrives in
Italy.*

¹ Dio, lib. xlii. Plut. in Cæs. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 254. Suet. in Jul. Hirt. de Bell. Alexand.

he had been greatly provoked by the blind and inconsiderate zeal of some rigid republicans, they were afraid he might rather follow the examples of Sylla, and his uncle Marius, than the dictates of his own good-nature.

Cicero was one of the first who felt the effects of his clemency. That great orator had declared for Pompey, and after his defeat, returned to Italy, where he had lived at some distance from the capital, not caring to appear till he had obtained his pardon of Cæsar. He therefore no sooner heard, that the dictator was landed at Tarentum, and on his march from thence to Brundisium, than he went to meet him, with an air of confidence mixed with fear and respect. Cæsar, who knew Cicero while he was at some distance, in order to save him the confusion of making submissions not suitable to the rank he had held in the republic, dismounted, and, having tenderly embraced him, walked with him alone, without shewing the least dissatisfaction, or taking any notice of his past behaviour. Cicero was much pleased with this reception; but, nevertheless, thought it adviseable to keep at a distance from the capital, whither he repaired very seldom, and then only to make his court to the dictator. In his retirement he employed his time in the study of philosophy, and composed most of those books which will be the admiration of all ages. Quintus Cicero, the orator's brother, who had formerly served under the dictator in Gaul, as one of his lieutenants, and received innumerable favours at his hands, had, in the beginning of the war, abandoned him to follow Pompey; but notwithstanding his ingratitude, Cæsar pardoned him, at the earnest entreaties of Aulus Hirtius, Caius Trebonius, and the famous Titus Pomponius Atticus, the orator's inseparable friend, even in his greatest misfortunes. Many others, who had borne arms against him, were not only pardoned, but received with great kindness, and even admitted to his confidence. This obliging behaviour, so different from that of Sylla and Marius, gained him the affections of the people, and great numbers of senators to his party, who had looked upon him before as a tyrant and usurper^k.

How he received Cicero.

His clemency.

He entered Rome attended only by a small number of legionaries; and found great disturbances in the city, occasioned by a misunderstanding between Marc Antony, his general of the horse, and P. Cornelius Dolabella, one of the tribunes of the people, who was no less attached to

Enters Rome.

^k Plut. in Cæs.

*Appeases
the dis-
turbances
he found in
the city.*

Cæsar's interest than Antony. He restored Rome to its former tranquillity, and easily prevailed upon the people to reject the law, which Dolabella had promised, containing an abolition of all debts (A). Cæsar's presence ended all disturbances: he disapproved the law, and it was rejected. He affected to govern according to the ancient laws of the republic, and pretended to leave the senate and people in possession of their former privileges: thus no change, in appearance, was visible in Rome; yet all orders of men were subject to the sovereign will of the dictator. During his short stay in the capital, he entertained the people with magnificent shews, and remitted the rents of the houses which they hired of the public. Afterwards he confiscated the estates of those who still continued in arms against him, and caused them to be sold publicly: the lands, house, and moveables of Pompey, were, with the effects of many others, exposed in the forum to public sale; but no purchaser appearing for those of Pompey, from respect to the memory of so great a man, Marc Antony bought them at a very low price, and immediately took possession of his house, where he spent his time in a continued scene of debauchery. When Cæsar's officers demanded the small sum he had agreed to pay for Pompey's house and moveables, he was highly offended, and treated them with great contempt, saying, he did not expect Cæsar would exact so paltry a debt of one who had done him such great services. This insolence provoked Cæsar, and occasioned some coldness between him and his general of the horse.

*Pompey's
house pur-
chased by
Marc An-
tony.*

*Cæsar's
kindness to
his friends.*

None of Cæsar's friends had reason to complain of him, or repent their having embraced his party. As pontifex maximus; he appointed some of them augurs, others pontifices, others decemvirs, to whose care the Sibylline books were committed; and he increased the number of prætors to ten, filling that college with his friends and partisans. As the

(A) This law had occasioned a misunderstanding between Antony and Dolabella, the former opposing it to the utmost of his power, and the latter exciting the poor and meaner sort of citizens to get it passed by force. Animosities were carried so far, that Antony was ordered by the senate to bring his troops into the city; and

then a battle was fought in the forum, between Antony and his legionaries, on one side, and Dolabella, at the head of the insolvent debtors, on the other; but the latter paid dear for their boldness, eight hundred of them being killed on the spot; whereas the general of the horse lost only a small number of men in the fray.

number

number of senators was greatly diminished by the death of some, and the flight of others, he raised to the senatorial dignity the chief officers of his army, and such of the knights as had followed his standards. Though a few days only were wanting to the end of the consular year, with which his dictatorship expired, he assembled the tribes in the Campus Martius, and proposed to them two of his lieutenants, Q. Fufius Calenus and P. Vatinius, to be chosen consuls for the current year. This step he took with the view of honouring with the consular dignity those two officers, who had served, with fidelity, under him in all his wars. The shortness of their consulate made Cicero say, by way of raillery, that the year in which Vatinius and Fufius were consuls, had neither spring, summer, nor autumn.

Next year Cæsar was created consul, but did not relinquish the dictatorship. As consul, he took for his colleague M. Æmilius Lepidus, just then returned from Hither Spain, which he had governed with prudence and moderation. This was a great disappointment to Marc Antony, who aspired at the consular dignity; but his late behaviour, and scandalous debaucheries, had alienated the dictator's mind from him; the more, because he was hated by the people, on account of his haughty and imperious behaviour, while he discharged the office of general of the horse¹.

Cæsar's second consulship.

Cæsar, having settled affairs in Italy, and taken proper measures to prevent any new disturbances in the capital, turned his attention to Africa, where Pompey's party was still very powerful, being headed by the famous Cato, and many officers of great distinction. When news of Pompey's overthrow were first brought to Dyrrachium, Cato, who had been left in this place with fifteen cohorts, resolved, if Pompey were killed, to lead them into Italy, there disband them, and retire from the tyranny of Cæsar as far as he could, and live in exile; but if Pompey were safe, to keep the troops together for his service. With this design he left Dyrrachium, which was too near Thessaly, where Pompey had been defeated, and crossed to the island of Corcyra, where the fleet lay. There he found Cicero, to whom, as he was a scrupulous observer of the laws, he offered the command of the troops he had with him, since Cicero had a right to the first post,

Cato's behaviour after the battle of Pharsalia.

¹ Plot. in Cæs. & Anton. Cic. Philip. ii. Macrobian. Saturn. lib. ii. cap. 3. Epit. Liv. Cic. ad Attic. & passim alibi.

*Cicero in
great dan-
ger from
Pompey's
son.*

as having been consul; whereas he had only been prætor. Cicero, who repented his having declared for Pompey, and was then returning to Italy, under various pretences declined the offer; which so provoked Cneius, Pompey's son, that he reproached him with treachery and cowardice, and, drawing his sword in the transport of his passion, would have killed him on the spot, had not Cato laid hold of his arm, and held him till the frightened orator withdrew. The same night Cato conveyed him privately out of the camp, and thus saved his life. Cicero immediately went on board a small vessel, and set sail for Brundisium, whence he wrote to Oppius and Balbus (B), two of Cæsar's zealous partisans, conjuring them to use their good offices in his behalf, and excuse him with the con-

(B) Caius Oppius was one of Cæsar's chief favourites. Charisius, Aulus Gellius, and Pliny, tell us, that he was a man of great learning, and the author of several works, much esteemed by the ancients; among the rest, of the lives of Scipio Africanus, and of Pompey the Great. Plutarch reproaches him with lessening the exploits and glory of Pompey, and magnifying those of Cæsar. In Suetonius's time he was deemed the true author of the history of the Alexandrian, African, and Spanish wars, which passed then, and have been transmitted to us, under the name of Hirtius. The same writer ascribes to Oppius several other works, none of which have reached our times. Balbus was a native of Gades, or, according to others, of Carthage. He served first in the armies of Quintus Metellus, and of Pompey, against Sertorius. Several years after he became acquainted with Cæsar, while he governed Spain in

quality of prætor, and was, at his recommendation, honoured with the rights and privileges of a Roman citizen. These were afterwards called in question; but Balbus found a zealous advocate in the person of Cicero, and was solemnly acknowledged by the senate and people for a citizen of Rome. It was customary for foreigners honoured with this distinction, to assume the name of the person they chose for their patron; and agreeably to this custom, Balbus took the name of Cornelius, having chosen Lentulus, who was of the Cornelian family, for his patron. Before the war broke out between Cæsar and Pompey, Theophanes, a great favourite of the latter, adopted Balbus, and appointed him his heir. Sidonius Apollinaris commends some memoirs written by Balbus after the manner of a journal: "*Quis Balbi ephemeridem (says he), fando adæquaverit* (1)? Who can sufficiently express the value of Balbus's journal?"

(1) Sidonius Apollin. lib. ix. epist. 24. Plin. lib. viii. Dio Cass. lib. xlviii. Cic. ad Attic. lib. iii. epist. 7.

queror.

queror, for having inconsiderately followed Pompey's party. Meanwhile, many illustrious Romans, who had escaped from the battle of Pharsalia, arrived in the island of Corcyra, not knowing what route Pompey had taken; so that Cato saw himself at the head of a considerable army, and surrounded by many officers of distinction. That zealous republican did not doubt that Pompey had fled either towards Egypt, where young Ptolemy, his pupil, reigned, or to the province of Africa, which P. Accius Varus had seized before the battle of Pharsalia, after having killed Curio, whom Cæsar had sent against him, and destroyed his army.

He therefore resolved to hasten after him, and, having taken all his troops on board, sailed for Africa. Before he embarked, he gave those who were not willing to follow him liberty to depart, and return to Italy. On his arrival in Africa, he found there Sextus, Pompey's younger son, who gave him an account of his father's death in Egypt. These news occasioned a great consternation among the troops; but, nevertheless, they all declared, that they were ready to shed their blood in defence of their common liberties; and that, after Pompey, they would follow no other leader but Cato. From compassion, therefore, to so many brave men, who had given such proofs of a sincere love for their country, and whom he was ashamed to abandon in a strange place, amidst so many difficulties, he took upon him the command; and, without delay, marched towards the city of Cyrene, which received him, though the inhabitants had a few days before shut their gates against Labienus. Here he was informed, that Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, had landed before him in Africa, and taken refuge in the dominions of Juba, king of Mauritania, where he found Accius, or, as Plutarch calls him, Appius Varus, at the head of a considerable army.

Upon this intelligence Cato resolved to join them; and having loaded many beasts of burden with water, and other necessary provisions, he set out on his march, which was attended with inexpressible difficulties. His troops travelled for several days through inhospitable deserts, covered with burning sands, and infested by lions, tigers, and serpents of a monstrous size; so that they were obliged to be constantly on their guard. Thus they marched seven days, Cato being always the foremost, to encourage his men, who were quite exhausted, by his example. Plutarch tells us, that since the battle of Pharsalia, he had never been on horseback, nor in a chariot; and that, to

*Cato re-
tires to
Africa;*

*and takes
the com-
mand of the
Roman
troops.*

*Cato's
march
through the
deserts of
Africa.*

shew his concern, he had, ever since that fatal day, used to sit at table (L), saying, that he never lay down but to sleep. The soldiers, animated by the example of their leader, cheerfully surmounted all difficulties, and arrived, to the number of ten thousand men, at Utica.

*Cato yields
the com-
mand of
the army
to Scipio.*

There a dispute arose among the chief officers about the command of the army. Varus, who immediately joined Cato, together with Scipio, and other senators of distinction, claimed the command as governor of Africa; which province had been allotted him by Pompey. On the other hand, the whole army demanded Cato for their leader; and even Varus and Scipio were willing to comply with their desire; but Cato opposed his own promotion, saying, that he would not transgress those laws which he had taken arms to defend; and that he, who was only prætor, ought not to command in the presence of Scipio, who was præconsul. He added, that every one would look upon it as a good omen, to see a Scipio at the head of a Roman army in Africa; and that the very name would inspire the soldiers with courage. Cato's words decided the dispute; all readily yielded to Scipio, who, being declared commander in chief of the forces of the republic in Africa, appointed Labienus, who had distinguished himself in several wars under Cæsar, his first lieutenant. Juba, king of Mauritania, no sooner heard of Cato's arrival, than he came to Utica, to confer with him, and the other officers. That prince had always shewn an attachment to Pompey, and his party; but he now assumed an air of grandeur and pride, which gave great offence to Cato (M). Under Scipio were several officers of great distinction and experience in war, namely, Labienus, Afranius, Petreius, the two sons of Pompey, Faustus Sylla, who had married their sister, besides a great number of senators and knights, all resolved to prefer death to the loss of liberty, and either save the republic, or fall with it. Juba promised to assist them

(L) In contradistinction to the custom, which was to lie reclined at meals,

(M) The first time he had an interview with Cato and Scipio, he ordered his seat to be placed in the middle; which Cato observing, he took up his own chair, and placed himself

on the other side of Scipio, to whom he thus gave the most honourable place. Such was the pride and haughtiness of those republicans, even at the time their republic was ready to sink, if not supported by foreign states and princes!

to the utmost of his power, and join them with all his forces, when the season of the year would allow him to take the field^m.

Cæsar, now master of all Asia, Greece, Egypt, and Italy, resolved to carry the war into Africa, and there crush the remains of Pompey's party; but while he was making the necessary preparations for that expedition, news were brought him, that the tenth legion, which he had always favoured in a particular manner, had openly revolted, and killed Galba and Gosconius, two officers of the senatorial order, who had endeavoured to appease them. Cæsar, surprised at this unexpected attempt of his favourite legion, immediately dispatched Crispus Sallustius, the famous historian, to quell the sedition with his eloquence, and bring back the mutinous legion to their duty. Sallust had great obligations to Cæsar, who had caused him to be appointed one of the ten prætors in the late election, after having restored him to his place in the senate, which he had forfeited by his irregularities. He therefore repaired to Capua, where the mutineers were encamped; but found it a more difficult task to appease a seditious soldiery, than to harangue a disarmed multitude. He was forced to save himself by flight from their fury, and hasten back to Rome, to acquaint Cæsar, that the rebellious legion, without listening to any terms, were in full march towards the capital. The dictator, incensed at their presumption, placed guards at the gates of the city, on the ramparts, and in all open places; and then, as they drew near, sent some officers to ask them what they wanted. Their ring-leaders answered, that they desired to speak with Cæsar. "Let them come into the city then, (replied Cæsar), and appear in the field of Mars, without any other arms than their swords." On this condition being admitted within the walls, they marched in good order to the appointed place, and there waited for Cæsar, who, without hearkening to the advice of his friends, went immediately to hear their complaints.

The presence of a general, famous for so many victories, inspired them with such awe and respect, that even the boldest could not utter a single word. Then Cæsar, mounting his tribunal, exhorted them to speak, and lay their complaints before him. Thus addressed, they de-

Cæsar resolves to carry the war into Africa.

The tenth legion mutinies.

Cæsar's address in appeasing the mutiny.

^m Plut. in Cat. Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. ii. Hist. de Bell. Afric. Dio, lib. xliii.

manded their discharge. They expected that Cæsar, being on the brink of a new war, would have courted and bribed them to continue in the service. They were, therefore, thunderstruck when he answered, without shewing the least surprize or concern, "Your demand is just; I discharge you, and you may be gone." Cæsar, perceiving their confusion, added, after some pause, "I do not, however, design to deprive you of your rewards: these I will give you, when I shall have triumphed over the rest of my enemies." At these words they crowded round his tribunal, begging that he would suffer them to deserve the promised rewards with farther services. But Cæsar, with an air of indifference, replied, "Begone, quirites, return to your houses and families." The appellation quirites, instead of fellow-soldiers, sounded like a clap of thunder in their ears. They all cried out, that they were soldiers; that they had not accepted of their discharge; and that they would follow him into Africa. Nevertheless Cæsar, pretending to despise their offers and submissions, turned his back upon them, and came down from his tribunal. Then the legionaries, throwing themselves at his feet, conjured him rather to inflict such punishments upon them as their insolence deserved, than to disband them in so shameful a manner. He continued long inflexible; but at length, pretending to be overcome by the importunity of his friends, he ascended the tribunal once more, and, addressing himself to them, told them, that the revolt surprised him so much the more, as it arose in a legion which he had always distinguished above the rest: that, nevertheless, he could not prevail upon himself to punish those whom he had once so tenderly loved; that, on his return from Africa, he would give them the rewards he had promised, and lands too for their subsistence; but that he would not by any means suffer them to attend him in the expedition he was now undertaking, in order to convince them, that he could conquer without their assistance. This speech made so deep an impression on their minds, that, with tears in their eyes, they begged he would rather decimate them, than debar them from sharing with him the glory of his victories. "We will follow you as volunteers, (they all cried out), if you refuse to admit us in the number of your legions." These words, which were manifestly spoken from a true sense of their crime, and a sincere repentance, touched Cæsar: he could no longer dissemble; but styling them again fellow-soldiers, he not only forgave

Cæsar pardons the mutineers.

gave them, but declared, that they should share with him the glory and advantages of all his victories ^a.

Having thus, by his intrepidity, resolution, and address, regained the affections and confidence of the rebellious legion, he pursued, with great ardour, the necessary preparations for the war in Africa; ordering his legions, in the mean time, to assemble at Rhegium, the place of the general rendezvous. Thither he repaired in person; and finding there but one legion of new levies, and six hundred horse, with them he crossed over into Sicily, leaving orders for the other legions to follow him with all expedition. On his arrival in Sicily, he encamped on the shore, declaring, that he was determined to set sail when the wind proved favourable, without waiting for the five legions, and a body of two thousand horse, who were in full march to join him. Accordingly, on the sixth of the calends of January, the wind blowing fair, he embarked the troops he had with him, and in the evening weighed anchor, leaving orders with Alienus, prætor of Sicily, to transport the other legions as soon as they should arrive.

He passes over into Sicily;

and from thence into Africa.

In four days he arrived on the coast of Africa; and, having landed his troops at a small distance from Adrumetum, sent to summon Confidius, who commanded in the place, to surrender; but Confidius, trusting in his numerous garrison, which consisted of two legions, and three thousand Mauritanian horse, killed, with his own hand, the messenger; and then marched out, at the head of all his troops, to attack Cæsar in the camp he had formed in great haste, and, consequently, but very indifferently fortified. Cæsar thought it adviseable to abandon his camp, and retire in good order, marching along the coast towards Ruspina, at a small distance from Adrumetum. Confidius pursued, and greatly harassed his troops on their march. On this occasion thirty Gaulish horsemen, who marched in the rear, put to flight two thousand Mauritanian cavalry, and drove them back to the gates of Adrumetum. Cæsar, with difficulty, reached Ruspina, being continually harassed by the enemy's parties; but not finding sufficient provisions in that neighbourhood to subsist his army, he turned towards Leptis, situate on the coast between the two Syrtes.

His troops attacked and harassed by Confidius.

As Leptis was a free city, the inhabitants opened their gates to him, and supplied his army with provisions. He

Is admitted into Leptis.

^a Appian, Hirt. Liv. Dio, *ibid*.

had not been long here, before part of the troops he expected from Sicily arrived on board of some galleys, and a small number of transports. These informed him, that the rest of the fleet were steering their course towards Utica, which was in the hands of the enemy. He forthwith dispatched Rabirius Posthumius, with orders to sail along the coast, and direct to Leptis such vessels as he should meet on his course. As the enemy were masters of the country, Cæsar's army was reduced to great straits for want of provisions; forage, especially, was become so scarce, that he was forced to feed his horses with a seaweed, which he mixed with grass, to take off its saltiness. He sent out several parties to bring in provisions; but they had always the misfortune to fall in with the enemy, and return with great loss (M): he therefore resolved to go himself in quest of his fleet; and, embarking in the night, he sailed, attended only with a small number of officers. Next day, when the soldiery missed him, they gave all up for lost; and it was with difficulty that the lieutenants, tribunes, and centurions kept them from abandoning their camp, and deserting to Scipio, who, with ten legions, and twenty elephants, was advancing against them. But their fears were soon calmed; for Cæsar the next day meeting the rest of his fleet, returned with them to Leptis, and decamped as soon as they had landed, with a design to advance farther into the country.

He had scarce marched three miles, when his scouts brought him intelligence, that the enemy appeared; and soon after he discovered a numerous army, which covered

Is greatly distressed for want of provisions

Goes in person in quest of his fleet.

Labienus marches against him.

(M) A party of horse, whom he sent out to forage, meeting an African, who played with great art on the flute, dismounted to hear him, leaving the care of the horses to their servants. In the mean time, the enemy falling on them unexpectedly, killed many, and pursued the rest to their camp; which they would have entered with the fugitives, had not Cæsar and Afranius Pollio, at the head of a few cohorts, put a stop to their flight, by placing themselves in the gate of the camp, and obliging the horse to face the enemy. In

another encounter, which happened a few days after, the greater part of Cæsar's foot was put to flight by a strong detachment from Scipio's army. On this occasion, Cæsar, seeing one of the standard-bearers flying with the rest, taking hold of him by the collar, forced him to face about, saying, "Look that way; the enemy is there." However, he could not prevail upon his troops to stand their ground; but was forced himself to give way, and retire with them, in no small disorder, to his camp.

the

the whole plain, advancing in good order. Cæsar immediately ordered his men to halt; and, having drawn them up in one line, to prevent their being surrounded, waited in order of battle to receive the enemy's first onset. This numerous body of Roman and Mauritanian forces was commanded by Labienus, who attacked Cæsar with such fury, that he had occasion for all his courage and experience to prevent his troops from flying to their camp, and leaving the enemy master of the field. He was surrounded on all sides, and would have been cut in pieces with all his men, had not a soldier of the tenth legion, by killing Labienus's horse, occasioned some confusion among the enemy's battalions. Those who were next to the general, seeing him fall, and believing him dead, began to retire. Cæsar, observing the consternation they were in, advanced at the head of a body of legionaries, and attacking with great intrepidity the enemy's first line, put them to flight, before Labienus, who was stunned with his fall, recovered himself; but as Labienus's second line still stood firm, Cæsar thought it advisable not to attack them, but march back in good order to his camp, before the first line could rally. As he retreated, M. Petreius and Cæsius Piso, two zealous partisans of Pompey, appeared unexpectedly at the head of eleven hundred Numidian horse, and a numerous body of light-armed infantry, and attacked his rear. We are told that Petreius, on this occasion remembering the favours he had received from Cæsar, spared his benefactor, under pretence, that he ought not to rob his general of the glory of completing the victory. It is certain, however, that Cæsar got safe to his camp at Leptis, and from thence marched the same night to Ruspina.

*Cæsar's
army in
danger.*

In the mean time Scipio joined his lieutenant Labienus with eight legions, and four thousand horse; and then Cæsar, intrenching himself under the walls of Ruspina, dispatched messengers to Italy and Sicily, acquainting his friends with the danger he was in, and intreating them to send him speedy succours, without which he should be obliged to abandon Africa, and return with disgrace to Italy. Alienus, prætor of Sicily, upon the first notice of his danger, sent him powerful succours; which were no sooner arrived, than he resolved to offer Scipio battle, who, with an army twice as numerous as his, was encamped at a small distance, to prevent his drawing any

*Labienus's
army re-
inforced.*

*Cæsar re-
ceives re-
inforce-
ments.*

• Plut. in Cæs. Appian. Hist. ibid.

forage or provisions from the neighbouring country. Cato, who commanded in Utica, being informed of the enemy's motions, wrote a letter to Scipio, advising him not to hazard a battle with a commander experienced in war, and encouraged with success; but to use delay, which, he judiciously observed would cool the heats and passions of men, the chief support and strength of usurpers. Scipio, flushed with his late success, not only rejected Cato's advice, but wrote a letter to him, wherein he reproached him with cowardice, since he was not content to lie secure within walls and trenches, but would hinder others from laying hold of opportunities to conquer. Then Cato declared, that he was sorry he had yielded the command to Scipio, "who (said he) will not use his power wisely in war; and if he should, contrary to all appearance, succeed, will use his success as unjustly at home." He even told his friends, that, if Scipio should conquer, he did not doubt but he would prove as arbitrary as Cæsar himself.

*Cæsar
marches to
Utica.*

*Is blocked
up by the
enemy.*

Cæsar quitted his camp at Ruspina, and marched to Utica, with a design to draw the enemy to a general engagement, by threatening to lay siege to that city, which was the magazine of their provisions and ammunition. He encamped before the place without being in the least disturbed by the enemy, who were unwilling to engage before the arrival of Juba, king of Mauritania, whom they daily expected with eighteen thousand foot, eight hundred horse, and thirty elephants. At length the king arrived with the expected succours; and, together with Scipio and Labienus, formed three different camps, which blocked up that of Cæsar, who was again greatly distressed for want of provisions, the enemy having laid waste all the neighbouring country. While he was thus besieged, news were brought him, that the ninth and tenth legion had arrived from Sicily, and in full march to join him. Upon this notice Cæsar, leaving in his camp a sufficient number of troops to defend his works, marched with the rest to meet his legions, and brought them safe to his camp before Utica. He now thought himself strong enough to cope with the enemy, and drew out his forces in order of battle for several days together; but the enemy not accepting the challenge, he resolved to decamp, and leaving Utica, which was in a condition to sustain a long siege, to attack Thapsus, a place of great importance, but

not well provided and fortified: Juba, Scipio, and Labienus followed, and encamped separately about fifteen hundred paces from him.

Cæsar was no sooner informed that they were entrenching themselves, than he marched out of his camp, and making his way with incredible expedition through thick woods, and a country almost impassable, fell upon Scipio's troops before they had completed their works, put them to flight, and then attacking first Labienus's camp, and afterwards Juba's, killed fifty thousand of the enemy in the three camps, with the loss only of fifty men. After this battle, Thapsus, Adrumetum, and Zama immediately submitted; and the principal men of the party giving all up for lost, either laid violent hands on themselves, or were taken and put to death. Scipio endeavoured to save himself by sea; but his vessel being taken, he chose rather to die than owe his life to the conqueror. Juba and Petreius sought death in a single combat, in which Juba being killed, Petreius ordered one of his slaves to dispatch him. Afranius and Sylla, with a small body of troops, took their route along the coast of Africa, with a design to join the two sons of Pompey, whom Cato had sent into Spain: they were defeated and taken by Sittius, one of Cæsar's lieutenants, who would have saved them; but his soldiers, in a mutiny, cut them in pieces. Of all the heads of Pompey's party Labienus alone found means to make his escape, and transport himself safe into Spain.

Defeats the enemy.

The chief men of Scipio's army killed or taken.

The enemy's forces being dispersed, and their leaders either fled or killed, all Africa submitted, except the city of Utica, where Cato commanded, and had formed a kind of senate, composed of three hundred Romans, who had repaired to him from different parts. The news of the victory gained by Cæsar at Thapsus, threw the city into the utmost consternation. Some of the citizens took to their arms; others thought of nothing but how to save themselves from falling into the hands of the conqueror. Cato endeavoured to calm their fears, representing to them, that perhaps things were not so bad in reality, but exaggerated by fame, as is usual in war. Thus he quelled the tumult for some time; and having assembled his senate or council, he first commended their courage and fidelity, and then intreated them by no means to separate, since, while they kept together, Cæsar would have less reason to despise them, if they fought against him, and be more ready to pardon them if they submitted. His words

All Africa, except Utica, submits.

Cato encourages the Romans in Utica to stand a siege.

inspired

inspired even the most timorous with courage: they forgot the present danger, and declared that they would sustain a siege, protesting that they would rather die with Cato than save themselves by abandoning a person of such exalted virtue.

This ardour, however, soon cooled; and the majority of them reflecting on the clemency of the victor, plainly betrayed an inclination to submit; and then privately resolved to send deputies to Cæsar. Cato, though he perceived their intention, affected to know nothing of it, but wrote to Juba, who, with a small body of men, had retired to a neighbouring mountain, and to Scipio, who lay at anchor under a promontory near Utica, advising them not to come near the place, since he suspected the fidelity both of the inhabitants and senators, who formed his council^a.

*Remark-
able in-
stance of
Cato's hu-
manity.*

A considerable body of horse, who had escaped from the battle, appearing at some distance from Utica, sent a messenger to acquaint Cato with the different sentiments that prevailed among them, and to ask his advice; some were for joining him, others not caring to shut themselves up in the city, were for going to Juba; Cato hastened out to confer with their leaders, whom he intreated not to abandon so many worthy senators, but to seek the mutual safety of one another, and to come into the city, which was impregnable; and well furnished with corn and other provisions for many years. The senators likewise, who attended Cato, with tears in their eyes, besought them to stay. The officers went to consult the soldiers; but in the mean time news were brought to Cato, that the greater part of his senators were raising a tumult in the city, and stirring up the inhabitants to exclude Cato, and send deputies to Cæsar. These tidings being immediately divulged among the horse, they desired their officers to return to Cato with this answer, "That they should not be afraid of Cæsar while they followed Cato, whom they were ready to join, provided he would either drive out of the city, or cut in pieces, all the Uticans, who would not fail to betray them, and plot their ruin, as soon as Cæsar appeared." This condition seemed too cruel to the virtuous Cato, who therefore chose rather to deprive himself of so powerful and necessary a supply than perpetrate such cruelty and injustice.

Upon his return to the city, the senators of his council openly declared, that they were neither able nor willing to

^a Plut. in Cat.

oppose Cæsar; and they even threatened to seize those senators who were for standing a siege, and deliver them up to Cæsar. Cato with difficulty prevailed upon the horse to stay at least one night in the city, in order to facilitate the escape of those worthy senators who were thus threatened by the rest. Mean while news were brought, that Cæsar was drawing near with his whole army: then Cato, ordering all the gates to be shut, except one towards the sea, attended his friends to the port, and putting them on board of some vessels he had prepared for that purpose, he returned to the city, and dismissed the body of horse, advising several of his friends to join them, and abandon a city which would soon fall into the enemy's hands. The senators, who remained in Utica, appointed Lucius Cæsar, a relation of the conqueror, who had followed Pompey's party, to intercede for them, and make their submissions to the dictator. Cato approved of their choice, and even composed the speech with which he was to address Cæsar. Lucius, in taking his leave of Cato, told him, that he should not scruple to kiss the hands, and fall at the knees of Cæsar on his behalf; but Cato would by no means give him leave so much as to mention his name. However, as Lucius was departing, he recommended to him his son, and the rest of his friends, and bid him farewell (N). Towards the evening he ordered the gates of the city to be opened, exhorting both the Romans and inhabitants to go out, and throw themselves upon the mercy of the conqueror. As for himself, he

The senators resolve to abandon the city.

Cæsar draws near to Utica.

Cato's constancy.

(N) While the rest were preparing to attend Lucius in the habit of suppliants, Cato was greatly surpris'd at the constancy of a young Roman, named Statilius, who, though in the flower of his age, and a noted enemy to Cæsar, declared, that he would rather die than be indebted to an usurper for his life. Cato having attempted in vain to persuade him to yield to fortune, and join the other suppliants, recommended him to Apollonides and Demetrius, two celebrated philosophers, saying,

“ It belongs to you to bring down this young man's spirit, and make him know what is proper.” By these words Cato implied, that the disposition of mind in which Statilius imagined himself to be, was rather the effect of vain-glory than true constancy; and that what became Cato, who had always made a profession of severe virtue, and was Cæsar's equal, did not become such a young man as Statilius. Epictetus observes, that it is only for an extraordinary person to imitate an extraordinary virtue.

went, according to his custom, to bathe before supper (O), then called his son, and advised him, among other things, never to engage in affairs of state, telling him, "that to act as became him was now impossible, and so otherwise dishonourable."

*His discourse
with two
philosophers.*

After he had bathed he went to supper, at which he sat upright, as he had always used to do ever since the battle of Pharsalia, contrary to the Roman custom. Several of his particular friends, and some of the principal citizens of Utica, supped with him. Among the former were Apollonides, the Stoic philosopher, and Demetrius the Peripatetic. After supper many philosophical questions were discussed, and, among the rest, those fundamental principles which were called the Paradoxes of the Stoics; and this in particular, "that the good man only is free, and that all wicked men are slaves." The moment this was proposed, the Peripatetic took up the argument against it (P); but Cato, raising his voice, maintained the incontestible truth of that maxim with more than ordinary warmth.

*Reads
Plato's
Phædo.*

When the company broke up, he walked with his friends as usual after supper, gave the necessary orders to the officers of the guard, and then withdrew. Cato, now alone, took up Plato's dialogue on the immortality of the soul, and began to read it with great attention. After he had read some time, in a transport of joy, which the hope of a happy immortality raised in his breast, he looked for his sword, which his son had privately removed. Without shewing the least eagerness or concern, he called a slave, and only asked him, who had taken away his sword. As the slave made no answer, he continued reading, and calmly bid him bring it back. He then took up the book again, and having finished the whole dialogue, without any intelligence of his sword, he called his servants, and in an angry tone demanded it of them, ex-

(O) While he was in the bath, remembering Statilius, he cried out aloud to the philosopher Apollonides, who always attended him, "Well, Apollonides, have you brought down the high spirit of Statilius? Is he gone without bidding us farewell?" "No, (answered the philosopher) I have discoursed much with him, but

to little purpose; he is still unalterable, and determined to follow your example." "This (said Cato with a smile) will soon be tried."

(P) The Peripatetics maintained, that neither virtue nor vice had any relation to freedom or servitude, taking these words in a sense too confined and literal.

claiming,

claiming, that he was betrayed, and delivered to the enemy, disarmed. One of his slaves attempted to appease him; but he had scarce begun to speak, when Cato gave him a violent blow on the mouth. At this noise his son and his friends came into the room, and, falling at his feet, endeavoured, with tears and entreaties, to divert him from any design he might have on his life. Cato raising them up, "Why does not some person (said he) teach me what is better, if I have designed what is ill? Must I be thus disarmed, and prevented from making use of my reason?" Then turning to his son, "And you, young man (said he), why do you not tie your father's hands behind his back, that when Cæsar comes, I may not be able to hurt him? for against myself I stand in no want of a sword: to die I need but hold my breath a little while, or strike my head against the wall."

His son and friends endeavour to divert his intention.

With these words he dismissed his son and the rest of his friends, except the philosophers Demetrius and Apollonides, whom he addressed thus: "Can you bring any reason to prove, that it is not base and unworthy of Cato, to beg his life of his enemy? I have not yet determined any thing on this subject; but I would have it in my power to perform what I shall think fit to resolve on." As the philosophers made no reply, which indeed they could not without contradicting their own principles, Cato told them, that he would not fail to ask their advice, when he should have occasion to make use of what their philosophy taught. "But in the mean time (said he), go tell my son, that he should not compel his father, when he cannot persuade him." They accordingly withdrew, and sent his sword by a young slave. Cato received it with great pleasure, and having drawn it and examined the point, said, "Now I am master of myself." He then read the book twice (Q), lay down, and fell into

His behaviour before his death.

(Q) This dialogue seems too long to be read twice in so short a space; but that which seems most incomprehensible is, that Cato, before he laid violent hands on himself, should read that dialogue, which proves in the strongest terms, that what he was going to do was not lawful. "A philosopher (says Plato in that dialogue), will never lay violent hands on him-

self, that not being lawful even for those to whom death is more desirable than life. They are not allowed to procure that remedy to themselves, though it be ever so necessary; for God has placed us in this life as in a post, which we are never to quit without his permission. The gods take care of us, and we must consider ourselves as their peculiar property. If one

into a sound sleep. About midnight he called two of his freedmen, Cleanthes his physician, and Butas, whom he

of your slaves, should dispatch himself without your command, you would think he had done you an injury, and would punish him, if it lay in your power." How could Cato persist in his resolution against such strong arguments? He might possibly justify himself from what is added by Socrates:

"We must wait with patience till it pleases God to send us an express order to remove out of this life." He looked perhaps on the condition he was then in as such an order; and thus has Cicero commented upon it in the first book of his *Tusculan Questions*: "*Cato autem sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriendi, nactus, se esse gauderet. Verat enim dominans ille in nobis Deus injussu hinc nos suo demigrare. Cum vero causam justam Deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, sæpe multis, nã ille, medius fidius, vir sapiens hatus ex his tenebris in lucem illam excesserit: nec tamen ille vincula carceris ruperit; leges enim vocant: sed tanquam a magistratu, aut ab aliqua potestate legitima, sic a Deo, evocatus atque emissus exierit.*"

"But Cato quitted life in such a manner, as to rejoice at having obtained a cause for dying. For that God, who rules within us, forbids us to depart hence without his leave. But when God himself shall have given a just cause, as then to Socrates, now to Cato, often to many, then certainly that wise man would joyfully have departed out of this darkness into that light; nor in

this case would he have broken the bonds of his prison: for this the laws forbid: but, being summoned and discharged by God, as by a magistrate, or some lawful power, would have quitted his station." But this trifling distinction destroys the very end and design of the dialogue. If it were left to every one to explain, as he thought proper, the state he is in, and interpret it as an express order from God to quit his station, the prohibition of self-murder would be unnecessary, since a reason would never be wanting upon occasion to justify it; therefore this action in Cato is not by any means warrantable. However, it must be allowed, that it was less criminal in him, than it can be in those, who destroy themselves for some private reasons, when overwhelmed with grief, pinched with poverty, overcome with fear, or some other passion; for there is a wide difference, in our opinion, between the pusillanimity of such, and the despair of a brave man, who kills himself, not for any private reason, but, if the expression may be allowed, for some reason of state; for though the action carries in it a brutal fury, and the blind impulse of an ungovernable passion, yet, as Plutarch has well observed on another subject, where he compares Romulus and Theseus, "he is more excusable; who is transported by a stronger cause, as yielding to the heavier stroke." And what stroke can be more severe than the ruin of our country &

chiefly

chiefly employed in public affairs. The latter he sent to the port, to see whether his friends had sailed, and ordered the former to apply some remedy to his hand that was hurt by the blow he gave his slave. Butas soon returned with intelligence, that all his friends were embarked, except Crassus, who had staid on account of some business, but was just ready to depart: he added, that the wind was high, and the sea very rough. Cato sighed, and sent Butas a second time to see whether any of them were driven back, and wanted his assistance. Mean while he again fell asleep, and did not wake till day began to appear; when Butas returning, acquainted him, that the storm was allayed, and that no noise was heard in the port. Then Cato, lying down, as if he intended to sleep, desired Butas to withdraw, and shut the door.

He was no sooner gone, than this rigid republican, as if he had waited till those of his party were out of danger, ran the sword into his body; but his hand being disabled, the wound was not effectual. He did not die immediately; but fell upon his bed, and threw down a table on which he had drawn some geometrical figures. The noise alarmed his friends, who breaking into the room, found him weltering in his blood, with part of his bowels out of his body. Such a dreadful sight struck them with so great terror, that they stood some time motionless, without being able to lend him the least assistance. At length Butas accosting him, returned his bowels, which were not injured, and sewed up the wound; but Cato recovering, thrust away the physician, rent open the wound, and tearing his bowels, expired immediately, in the forty-eighth, or, as others will have it, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He was one of the most virtuous citizens Rome ever produced; but his virtues would have been more servicable to his country, had his manners been more social; and his temper less inflexible.

Stabs himself with his sword.

Puts an end to his life.

His death was no sooner known, than the inhabitants of Utica repaired to his house, calling him their benefactor, their deliverer, the only free, the only invincible Roman. Though at that instant word was brought them, that Cæsar approached, yet neither fear of the present danger, nor the commotions and discord which reigned among them, nor even the eagerness each expressed to make their court to the conqueror, could divert them from burying his body with pomp, and paying the funeral honours due to a person of his exalted merit. When Cæsar, who was at the gates of Utica with all his forces, heard of

The concern of the inhabitants of Utica at his death.

Utica submits to Caesar.

Cato's death, he is said to have uttered these words: "Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou hast envied me the glory of saving thy life: (R)." Upon Cato's death, the city of Utica was by Lucius Caesar delivered to the conqueror, who pardoned some, but caused others to be privately put to death (S).

Caesar,

* Plut. in Cat.

(R) Plutarch seems to question whether Caesar would have pardoned Cato or not. The discourse, says that writer, which Caesar wrote against Cato, is no great proof of his kindness, or that he was inclined to shew him any favour. Is it possible, adds he, that Caesar would have been tender of his life, when he was so bitter against his memory? But we are nevertheless of opinion, that Caesar would have spared him, as he did Cicero, Brutus, Marcellus, his most inveterate enemy, and many others; not from any friendship he had for him, but out of vanity, and perhaps policy. As for the book mentioned by Plutarch, Caesar did not write it from hatred to Cato, but in his own vindication. Cicero had written an encomium on Cato, and called it by his name. A discourse composed by so great a master upon such an excellent subject was immediately in every person's hands. This alarmed Caesar; for he looked upon a panegyric on his enemy, who chose rather to kill himself than fall into his hands, as no better than a satire against himself. He therefore published an answer, containing a collection of charges and accusations against that great man, which he styled Anticato,

(S) Among the latter was Lucius Caesar himself, who had treated with great cruelty such of Caesar's adherents as he had got into his power during the war: among the former were Cato's son, his daughter, Statilius, and most of his friends. His son was afterwards slain in the battle of Philippi, with more glory than he had lived; for we are told, that he led a debauched life; and that being lodged, while he stayed in Cappadocia, in the house of Marphadates, one of the royal family, he maintained a criminal conversation with his wife, by name Psyche, which in Greek signifies *soul*. This gave the Romans occasion to say, by way of raillery, that Cato and Marphadates were good friends; for they had but one soul; that Cato was noble and generous, and had a royal soul, &c. Cato's daughter was married to Brutus, one of the conspirators, and ended her life as became one of her birth and family, as we shall relate in a more proper place. Statilius, who affected to imitate Cato, was prevented by the philosophers from destroying himself; but he afterwards followed Brutus, to whom he proved very faithful and serviceable, and at length died, with many other illustrious Romans,

Cæsar, now master of the whole Roman province in Africa, marched into Numidia and Mauritania, and reduced both those kingdoms to Roman provinces, appointing Crispus Sallustius to govern them in quality of proconsul. The fruitful plains of Numidia he divided among the soldiers of P. Silius, who had reduced great part of that country (T), appointing him sovereign of that district, after having expelled a Numidian prince named Manasses, who had declared for Juba, and served in his army against Cæsar.

Cæsar reduces Mauritania and Numidia.

Cæsar, having brought all Africa under subjection, repaired to Utica, where his fleet lay at anchor. There he gave orders for rebuilding Carthage, and soon after his return to Italy, he likewise caused Corinth to be rebuilt; so that these two cities were destroyed in the same year, and in the same year raised out of their ruins. They were both repeopled with Roman colonies; and from these new

Carthage and Corinth rebuilt.

• Hirt. de Bell. Africano.

Romans, in the battle of Philippi (1).

(T) Silius, being driven out of Rome, had taken refuge in Mauritania, and there assembled a considerable number of Roman exiles, with whom he entered into the service of Bogud, a petty king of Mauritania, then at war with Juba. Bogud appointed him commander in chief of all his forces; which trust he discharged with great fidelity, invading Juba's dominions, and making himself master even of Cirta his capital. This diversion was of great use to Cæsar; for it obliged Juba to leave great part of his forces at home, under the command of Sabura, one of his best generals, to defend his own kingdom; but, during his absence, Silius, having defeated and killed Sabura, made himself master of the whole country, and then marched

with his victorious army to join Cæsar, whom he scarce knew. On his march he met a body of Romans, who had saved themselves from the battle of Thapsus, under the command of Afranius and Faustus Sylla, defeated them, and took their leaders prisoners, together with Sylla's wife, the daughter of Pompey, whom he delivered to Cæsar, who not only pardoned her, but sent her into Spain to her brothers. Soon after, Silius's fleet surprised, in the port of Hippo, the squadron which was conveying into Italy Scipio, and other Romans, who had left Utica, and took most of them prisoners. Scipio laid violent hands on himself; but the rest were brought to Silius, who consigned them to Cæsar. These services the dictator rewarded with a fruitful country bordering on Numidia.

(1) Plut. in Cat. & Cæf. Dio Cass. lib. xliii.

Cæsar returns to Rome.

Honours bestowed on him by the senate and people.

inhabitants of Corinth were descended those Corinthians to whom St. Paul wrote his two epistles. The dictator having no enemy to contend with in Africa, he left that country; and setting sail for Italy on the ides of June, he arrived in three days at Carolos, now Cagliari, and sailed from thence, on the third of the calends of July, for Ostia, which he did not reach, the weather proving very stormy, till the twenty-sixth of the Julian May. As he drew near Rome, the whole city went out to meet him, and conducted him to the Capitol, where he returned thanks to Jupiter for the success of his arms.

The senate and people contended who should be most forward in heaping honours upon this great conqueror. Supplications were appointed, and sacrifices ordered to be offered daily in the temples, for forty days, in thanksgiving to the gods for the victories he had gained in Africa. His dictatorship was prolonged for ten years, and the dignity of censor, which had been hitherto divided between two magistrates, conferred on him alone, under the title of prefect, or reformer of manners. His person was declared sacred and inviolable; and, to raise him above the level of his fellow-citizens, it was decreed, that he should sit, during his life, next to the consuls; that he should give his opinion the first in all public deliberations; that he should sit at public shews in a curule chair; and that, even after his death, the chair should be placed as usual at the shews, to render his memory immortal; lastly, they placed his statue in the Capitol next to that of Jupiter, with this inscription on the pedestal, "To Cæsar a demigod."

Cæsar had too much penetration not to know, that this profusion of honours was the effect of fear, and not of any sincere affection for him; and therefore, in accepting such marks of distinction, he declared, that he would make no other use of his authority than to prevent any farther disturbances in the republic, and to render all the members of it happy (U). His speech, and the pardon he granted a few days after to M. Claudius Marcellus, one

* Plut. Dio. Hirt. ibidem.

(U) "I shall not (said he) renew the massacres of Sylla and Marius, which I cannot reflect on without horror. I wish I had been able to save the republic without shedding a drop of blood, and without depriving Rome of one single citizen; but, since that was not in my power, now that my enemies are subdued, I will make no farther use of the sword; but

one of his most inveterate enemies, calmed the fears both of the senate and the people (W).

The dictator having, by his clemency, delivered the senators from their fears, summoned the people, and appearing in the assembly more like a common citizen than a victorious general, returned them thanks, in a most obliging manner, for their attachment to his person: he then entertained them with a particular account of his victories; observing, that he had, by his last victory, subdued a country so rich, and of such extent, that it would yearly supply the city with two hundred thousand bushels of corn, and three millions of measures of oil. In consideration of the many conquests he had made, four triumphs were decreed him by the senate and people.

He triumphed four times in one month, for his victories, over the Gauls, Egypt, Pharnaces, and Juba. In

Returns thanks to the people.

Triumphs decreed him. His triumph over the Gauls,

but endeavour to gain, by good offices, those who still continue obstinate. You shall all find in me not a Marius or a Sylla, but an indulgent father, and zealous protector. My troops I shall keep together, not so much for my own defence, as for that of the republic. They shall not, however, be any charge to you; the spoils I have brought with me from Africa, will be sufficient to maintain them, and likewise to defray for some time the expences of the government."

(W) Marcellus had been consul five years before, and, during his consulate, employed all his interest and authority against Cæsar. He had fought under Pompey's banners at Pharsalia; but, retiring after that fatal action from public affairs, he had chosen the city of Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos, for the place of his residence, and there led a quiet life, entirely taken up with the study of philosophy. Cicero, who had always professed a strict friendship for Marcellus,

prevailed upon the conscript fathers to intercede for him in a body. Accordingly, the first time Cæsar appeared in the senate, Lucius Piso having addressed him with an affecting speech in favour of the illustrious exile, all the fathers seconded him, and, quitting their places, surrounded the dictator's tribunal, imploring his clemency in behalf of one of the most worthy members of their body. Cæsar heard them with great attention, and, as soon as they had done speaking, "I willingly pardon Marcellus (said he), out of regard to your intercession, conscript fathers; and to his own merit. Let him return, and take his place in the senate. I shall not, for the future, look upon him as an enemy, but rank him among my friends, to convince the world of the deference I pay to this venerable body." The senate returned him thanks, and Cicero in particular, in that speech which is still admired by all the learned.

the

the first triumph, were carried before his chariot the names of three hundred nations, and eight hundred cities, which he had reduced by the death of a million of enemies. Among the prisoners appeared Vercingetorix, who had excited all Gaul against Cæsar, and attempted to relieve Alecia, at the head of three hundred thousand men. His soldiers followed, crowned with laurel, and the whole city attended him with loud acclamations. He mounted the steps of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, on his knees, and having sacrificed to that god, cancelled the fulsome inscription which had been engraved on the pedestal of his statue.

over Egypt.

The second triumph was over Egypt, when the pictures of Ptolemy, Photinus, and Achilles, were carried before the triumphal chariot, with representations of the cities of Pelusium and Alexandria, of the palace of the Egyptian kings, and of the tower of Pharos. Before the chariot walked many prisoners of distinction; among the rest Arsinoë, the sister of Cleopatra, loaded with chains: but, after she shew, she was set at liberty, and only banished from Egypt, that she might not create new disturbances in that kingdom, to the prejudice of Cleopatra (X). The third triumph exhibited the defeat of Pharnaces king of Pontus. In the midst of the spoils, which the conqueror had brought from Pontus, Bithynia, and Galatia, the famous words, "Veni, vidi, vici," were carried on a table in large characters, to shew rather the dispatch than the difficulty or importance of that victory.

over Pharnaces,

and over Juba.

The subject of the fourth triumph was, the conquest of Africa and Numidia, with the defeat of Juba and his allies. In this triumph Juba, the son of king Juba, who was then very young, walked among the other captives before the triumphal chariot; but when the shew was over, Cæsar set him at liberty, and gave him an education suitable to his rank, appointing masters to teach him the Greek and Latin tongues, and such sciences as the young noblemen of Rome studied in those days (Y). The vessels of gold and silver, which in these triumphs were carried before

(X) This young princess took up her residence in Asia Proper; for there Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and, at the request of Cleopatra, caused her to be put to death (5).

(Y) He was the author of several works, and, among the rest, of the history of Rome, which he wrote in Greek, and which is often quoted, and with great approbation, by the ancients; but is now entirely

(5) Hirt. de Bell. Alexand. Joseph Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 4.

lost.

before the conqueror, amounted to the value of sixty-five thousand talents, above twelve millions of our money, besides eighteen hundred and twenty-two crowns of gold, weighing fifteen thousand and thirty-three pounds, which were presents made to him by princes and cities after his victories.

With these sums he paid his soldiers their arrears, and, besides a hundred and fifty pounds of our money to every private man, gave as much more to each centurion, and thrice the sum to each tribune and commander of the cavalry. As to the Roman people, whose favour he courted, he gave to each person ten bushels of corn, ten measures of oil, and added a hundred denarii, by way of interest, to the three-hundred he had promised them before he set out for Africa. He afterwards entertained the people at twenty-two thousand tables with six thousand murenas (Z), and an incredible profusion of other dainties and rich wines; and that nothing might be wanting to the pomp and magnificence of these feasts, he entertained the city with a combat of two thousand gladiators, with representations of sea and land-fights, in which were three or four thousand combatants on a side, and with all sorts of plays, farces, and mimic performances (A). The entertainments

His liberality to the soldiers and Roman people.

lost, as are also all his other works. One of them treated of the affairs of Assyria, and chiefly collected from the writings of Berosus.

The Romans were not so well pleased with this triumph as with the other three, Cæsar having caused the statues of Scipio, Petreius, and Cato, to be carried before him, among those of the foreign kings and princes whom he had subdued. They could not behold Cato tearing his bowels, as the statue represented him, without expressing their concern, with loud sighs and tears, for the death of so great a man.

(Z) Murena is commonly translated lamprey; but the fish so called in the Mediterra-

nean is quite different from the fresh water lamprey, though of the eel species, and at present in no great estimation.

(A) The two famous mimics, or, as they were then called, pantomimes, Laberius and Publius, acted on this occasion. Laberius was by birth a Roman knight, but nevertheless acted on the stage mimic pieces of his own composing. Cæsar rewarded him for acting in the plays with which he presented the people, giving him, when they were over, five hundred sesterces, and a golden ring, which was restoring him to the equestrian dignity he had forfeited, by performing on the stage. Macrobius has given us part of a prologue

tainments lasted several days, and drew such numbers of people to Rome, that many of them were forced to lie in the open air, and some were stifled in the crowd *.

*Reforms
the govern-
ment.*

Cæsar having, by his largesses, entertainments, and shews, secured the affections of the soldiery and people, made it his study to reform the government, and establish order in the city. As many of the inhabitants had lost their lives in the civil war, and many had abandoned their native country, he appointed great privileges and exemptions for such as had numerous families; recalled all those who had settled in foreign countries, and invited to Rome, from all parts of the world, such persons as were in repute for their learning and knowledge; granting them, for their encouragement, all the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. At the same time he published a law, forbidding all citizens above twenty years of age, and under forty, to absent themselves from the capital more than three years on any pretence whatever (B). By other laws, he restrained

*Some of
his laws.*

* Dio, lib. xlii. Plin. lib. xxxiv. xxxvi. xxxvii. Suet. in Cæs. Vel. Patercul. lib. ii. cap. 56.

prologue of this author (1), which may serve for a specimen of his wit and style. Horace, indeed, taxes his compositions with want of elegance (2). But Scaliger thinks the censure very unjust, and the verses cited by Macrobius more elegant than those in which Horace finds fault with them (3).

Publius was a Syrian by birth, but received his education at Rome in the condition of a slave. Having, by several specimens of wit, obtained his freedom, he undertook the writing of mimic pieces, and acted them with uncommon applause in the towns of Italy. At last, being brought to

Rome to bear a part in Cæsar's plays, he challenged all the dramatic writers and actors, and carried the prize from every one of them, even from Laberius himself (4). A collection of sentences, extracted from his works, is still extant, which Joseph Scaliger highly commends, and even translated into Greek.

(B) Plutarch asserts, that Cæsar took a census of the people, who, from three hundred and twenty thousand, were now reduced to a hundred and fifty thousand; so great a destruction, says he, had the civil war made in Rome alone; not to mention what the other parts of Italy and the provinces

(1) Macrobi. Satur. lib. ii. cap. 7.

(2) Horat. Satir. lib. i.

Satir. x. ver. 5, 6.

(3) Scaliger de Re Poet. lib. i. cap. 10.

(4) Macrobi. Saturn. lib. ii. cap. 7.

restrained the profuse way of living which at that time prevailed in Rome and all over Italy; he confined the use of fitters, of embroidered robes and jewels, to persons of the first rank, of of large estates; he limited the expence of feasts by many sumptuary laws, which he caused to be put in execution with the utmost rigour, his officers often breaking into the houses of the rich citizens, and snatching from their tables such dishes as had been served up contrary to his prohibition. All the markets swarmed

Sumptuary laws.

had suffered. But there are three mistakes, in this passage, as the learned Rualdus observes. The first is, where it is said, that Cæsar took a census of the people: Suetonius does not mention it, and Augustus himself, in his *Marmora Adriana*, says, that in his fifth consulate, he numbered the people, which had not been done for forty-two years before. The second is, that before the civil wars broke out between Cæsar and Pompey, the number of the people in Rome amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thousand; for long before it was much greater, and had continued increasing. The last is, where it is asserted, that in less than three years, those three hundred and twenty thousand citizens were reduced by that war to a hundred and fifty thousand; the contrary of which assertion is evident from this, that soon after Cæsar made a draught of eighty thousand, to be sent to foreign colonies. Is it probable that he would have left no more than seventy thousand men in Rome? But what is still stronger, eighteen years after, Augustus took an account of

the people, and found the number amount to four millions and sixty-three thousand: "*cenfere civium Romanorum capita quadragies centum milia, & sexaginta tria milia,*" says Suetonius. Such an increase, in so short a time, must be prodigious, if not impossible. Rualdus has not only discovered these mistakes, but the source of them; he makes it appear, that Plutarch, for want of a thorough understanding of the Latin tongue, has been misled by the following passage of Suetonius, who says of Cæsar, "*Recensum populi nec more, nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit: atque ex viginti trecentisque milibus accipientium frumentum e publico, ad centum quinquaginta retraxit* (5)." Suetonius speaks there of the review taken by Cæsar of the needy citizens, who shared in the public corn, whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thousand, and reduced to a hundred and twenty thousand. Plutarch mistook *recensum* for *cenfum*, the muster taken by the censors; and this error led him into the other mistakes.

(5) Sueton, in *Jul. cap. 41.*

with

with informers, so that nothing could be carried thither, or sold, without his knowledge; and he never failed to punish with heavy fines such as he found guilty of the least breach of the laws he had enacted.

Reserves to himself the management of the public money.

As for the management of the public money, he reserved that entirely to himself; but committed the administration of justice to the senators and knights, choosing from them such persons as were remarkable for their integrity and probity. As his long command in Gaul had given him an opportunity of usurping an absolute power, to prevent others from treading in his footsteps, he ordained by a law, that no prætor should be continued in his government above a year, and no consular above two. All the magistrates in Rome, as well as in the provinces, were appointed by him, the people whom he suffered to assemble in the comitium, to maintain at least some appearance of a republican state, not daring to choose any but such as he proposed or recommended; by which means all the places and governments were filled with his creatures. The tribunes, the prætors, the quaestors, and even the consuls, were all persons who had served under him, inviolably attached to his interest. The government of the countries subject to the republic was committed to such only as the dictator thought he could confide in. Thus Sicily was allotted to A. Allienus, Cisalpine Gaul to M. Junius Brutus, Transalpine Gaul to another Junius Brutus surnamed Albinus, Achaia to Servius Sulpitius, Numidia to Crispus Sallustius, Illyricum to P. Vatinius, Syria to Q. Cornificius, and Spain to Q. Cassius Longinus; so that the absolute authority of Cæsar seemed to be equally established in the capital and in the most distant provinces.

Cæcilius Bassus raises disturbances in Syria.

In Syria, indeed, his power was disputed by one Cæcilius Bassus, who created great disorders in that province. He was a Roman knight, and had fought on Pompey's side in the battle of Pharsalia. After that overthrow he fled to Tyre; and there, pretending to be a merchant, secretly engaged in his party many who had been favourers of Pompey, and even some of the Roman soldiers who were sent thither to garrison the city. Being at length taken notice of by Sextus Cæsar, whom the dictator had appointed governor of that province, he was summoned to appear before him, and give an account of his proceedings. Bassus, without betraying the least fear, told the governor, that he was raising volunteers, and making other preparations, with a design to assist Mithridates

dates of Pergamus in the reduction of the kingdom of Pergamus, which had been given him by Cæsar. Sextus believing him, he was dismissed, and no more taken notice of, till, having assembled a considerable number of conspirators, he seized on the city of Tyre, reporting, that Cæsar was killed in Africa, and that he was appointed by the senate president of Syria. By this imposture he increased his forces, so as to be able to take the field, and engage Sextus Cæsar; but he was entirely defeated, and forced to take shelter in Tyre.

There he continued inactive, till the wounds he had received in the battle were cured; and then, by his emissaries, persuaded the troops under the command of S. Cæsar, who was given to all manner of lawdness, to rebel, and murder their leader. Upon his death, the troops he commanded joined Bassus, except a small body that retired into Cilicia. Bassus, seeing himself again at the head of a considerable army, marched to Apamea, which he seized and fortified; making it the place of his residence, and assuming the government of the whole province. But Antistius Verus, putting himself at the head of those who had retreated into Cilicia, and assembling several others of the Cæsarean party in that country, marched back with them into Syria. There he was joined by the sons of Antipater, with auxiliaries from Judæa, and by several of the neighbouring princes, who were glad of an opportunity to shew their attachment to the dictator. Thus Antistius was enabled to oppose Bassus, and even to drive him out of the field. He retreated to Apamea, where he was closely besieged by Antistius; but, as he was a brave soldier, and experienced commander, his adversary, having spent the whole summer before the place, without being able to gain any advantage over him, was forced, towards the end of the campaign, to raise the siege, and forbear all hostilities, till he received new supplies both of men and provisions *.

Cæsar, being informed of what passed in Syria, immediately dispatched Statius Murcus to succeed Sextus in the government of that province, appointing him three legions to put an end to that unexpected war. These, with the troops which Antistius commanded, formed a considerable army; so that Bassus was again obliged to shut himself up in Apamea, the siege of which place was

Sextus Cæsar murdered by his own troops.

The warious success of Bassus.

He is besieged in Apamea.

* Dio, lib. xlvii. Libe apud Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. iii. Epit. lib. cxiv. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 17. & de Bell. Judæico, lib. i. cap. 8.

renewed

renewed by the united forces of Murcus and Antistius. During the siege, both sides solicited the assistance of the neighbouring princes and states. Alcaudonius, an Arabian king, being on this occasion solicited both by Bassus and Murcus, came with all his forces; and, placing himself between Apamea and the camp of the Cæsareans, that covered the siege, offered his assistance to that side which would give most for it; and actually joined Bassus, who bid the highest. At the same time Pacorus came to his assistance, at the head of a numerous body of Parthians: those reinforcements added such strength to the besieged, that the Cæsareans were again forced to raise the siege, and leave Bassus master of the field. In consequence of this disappointment, the dictator sent orders to Q. Marcius Crispus, governor of Bithynia, to march with the three legions he had under his command to the assistance of Murcus. Bassus, at his approach, retired again to Apamea, where he was closely besieged a third time; but held out till the death of Cæsar, when he was relieved by Cassius, who seized on the province of Syria, as we shall relate in the sequel of this history.

The siege raised.

Cæsar reforms the calendar.

While the dictator's lieutenants were thus employed in the East, he himself undertook at Rome the reformation of the Roman calendar, which it belonged to him to rectify, as pontifex maximus, an office he had borne long before he was either consul or dictator. This reformation was much wanted; for by the errors of the former calendar, the festivals of the Romans, and their solemn days, were removed by degrees, and put out of their due time, till at last they came to fall in with seasons quite opposite to those of their primitive institution (Z). Never-

y Dio, lib. xlvii. Vell. Paternul. lib. ii. cap. 69. Appian. ibid. lib. iii. & iv. Cic. ad Attic. lib. xiv. Epist. 9.

(Z) This he did by the following methods: 1st, He abolished the lunar year, consisting of twelve lunar months, or three hundred and fifty-five days, by which the Romans had hitherto computed their time; and introduced the use of the solar year, consisting of the time in which the sun goes through the zodiac, and comes about again to the same point whence his course began. 2dly,

Having, according to the best observations of those times; concluded this revolution to be made in three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours, of these he made his solar year to consist. 3dly, These three hundred and sixty-five days he distributed into twelve artificial, instead of lunar months before in use, some of them consisting of thirty-one days, some of thirty, and one, that is,

Nevertheless, this work, so commendable and useful, gave offence to some, who envied his grandeur, and were weary

*Censured
on that
account.*

is, February, of twenty-eight. 4thly, The six hours over and above in four years making a day, he made every fifth year to consist of three hundred and sixty-six days, and this is what we call the leap-year. 5thly, This day he added between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth day of February, in the same place in the Roman calendar where formerly the intercalary month Mercedinus had been inserted. As this addition was made by putting the latter of those days, which was called sextus calendas, twice in the calendar, the year was thence called by the Latins, annus bissextilis, the *bissextile year*. But we, instead of putting the twenty-fourth day of February twice in the bissextile or leap-year, number on the days, so as to make the month consist of twenty-nine. 6thly, Cæsar began this year on the calends or first day of January, because on that day the annual magistrates of Rome entered on their offices. 7thly, The first of January he then fixed to the winter solstice; but it has now over-run that time several days, by reason that the Julian solar year is eleven minutes longer than the natural solar year. 8thly, To bring this reformation into practice, besides the month Mercedinus, which was inserted in February, as usual, Cæsar added to this present year two months more, which he put in between the months of November and December;

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so that this year thereby consisted of four hundred and forty-five days; to wit, three hundred and fifty-five days for the common Roman year, twenty-three for the month Mercedinus, and sixty-seven for the other months, added between November and December; so that this year, which was the longest the Romans had ever had, putting their affairs out of their usual order, was called by them the year of confusion. In the settling of this point, Cæsar made use of the assistance of Sosigenes, an astronomer of Alexandria, for the astronomical calculations; and of Flavius, a scribe, for the forming and digesting of them into a calendar, according to the Roman manner; that is, in distributing the days of each month into their calends, ides, and nones, and fixing the festivals, and other solemn times, to the days on which they were to be observed. But the pontifices, who had been the authors of the old confusion, not well understanding the new computation, instead of interposing the leap-day after every fourth year in the beginning of the fifth, put it in after the third in the beginning of the fourth, which disorder was continued for thirty-six years following; by which means, twelve years having been made leap-years instead of nine, the error was at length perceived. Hereupon Augustus, who succeeded Julius Cæsar, to bring matters

G g

into

weary of his power. They took occasion from thence to say, that after he had triumphed over the earth, he was disposed to govern likewise in heaven. It is not uncommon to hear ignorant people talk thus; but that Cicero, who had long before translated Aratus, and consequently ought to have been acquainted with the disorders of the former calculation, could be guilty of such a weakness, is surprising: yet the orator made the reformation of the calendar the subject of low jests, and invidious sarcasms.

The two sons of Pompey in Spain.

While Cæsar was thus employed at Rome, the two sons of Pompey having assembled, beyond the Pyrenees, such of their father's party as had escaped from the battles of Pharsalia and Thapsus, made themselves masters of great part of Spain. The Spaniards, who had formerly served under their father, flocked to them from all parts; inso-much, that they soon saw themselves at the head of a very numerous army, composed partly of Romans, and partly of the natives of the country. They had likewise experienced officers, and among the rest Labienus, who had learned the art of war under Cæsar, and had, on many occasions, given signal proofs both of courage and conduct. Cæsar had, indeed, after the conquest of Africa, dispatched first Caius Didius into Spain, to oppose the progress of the two young generals in that country; and after him Q. Fabius Maximus and Q. Pædus, two of his lieutenants, with such a body of troops as he thought sufficient to keep the Spaniards in awe: but the republican party being favoured by the natives, had gained the ascendant over them, made themselves masters of several cities, and obliged the Cæsareans to shut themselves up in their fortified places. The dictator's presence was necessary; he therefore resolved to go in person, and put a stop to their progress.

Cæsar chosen consul the fourth time.

Before he left Rome, he assembled the comitia, and having caused himself to be chosen consul the fourth time, as dictator he appointed M. Æmilius Lepidus, whom the tribes had given him for his colleague, general of the horse. The inferior offices were filled with his friends

into the right course again, ordered, that, for the twelve years next ensuing, no leap-year should be made; whereby the three supernumerary days, which had been erroneously

cast in, being again dropped, this way of computing has been observed ever since without any alteration, except that made by Gregory XIII.

and

and creatures, none opposing the election of such as he thought proper to recommend to the assembled tribes; for though he pretended to allow them the liberty of choosing whom they pleased, yet to each tribe he wrote to the following effect: "Cæsar recommends such a person to such a tribe, and begs they would oblige him so far as to choose him." This recommendation from Cæsar was, in reality, an order which no individual had courage enough to dispute or oppose; so that all the power and authority of the republic being lodged in the hands of such persons as were entirely attached to him, he had no reason to apprehend the least disturbance in the capital during his absence.

Having thus settled business, Cæsar took his leave of Cleopatra, whom he had invited to Rome, and kept in his own house during her abode in that city, and setting out for Spain about the beginning of the first Julian year, arrived in twenty-four days in the province of Bætica. There he assembled what troops were quartered in that and the neighbouring provinces, and marched, without loss of time, towards Corduba, hoping to surprise Sextus, the younger of the two Pompeys, who was then quartered in that city: but he having timely notice of Cæsar's arrival and design, immediately dispatched an express to his brother Cneius, who was then besieging the city of Ulla, acquainting him with the impending danger, and intreating him to break up the siege, and hasten with all his forces to his assistance. Cneius had reduced the place to the last extremity, and was then preparing for a general assault; but the unexpected arrival of the dictator, and the danger his brother was in, made him drop the enterprise, and march, with the utmost expedition, to Corduba.

He sets out for Spain.

Cæsar having, upon his arrival, attempted in vain to draw Sextus to a battle, decamped in the night, and went to invest the city of Ategua, about sixteen miles from Corduba, which the republican party had made their place of arms. Thither Cneius followed him, and encamped on some hills, at a small distance from Cæsar's entrenchments, with a design to cut off his communication with the neighbouring country, that he might be obliged to raise the siege. The dictator, notwithstanding the many and almost unsurmountable difficulties he had to struggle with, pursued his point with a constancy and resolution peculiar to himself. The besieged defended themselves with incredible bravery; but being at length reduced to

Invests the city of Ategua,

the utmost extremity, the garrison, which consisted mostly of Romans, resolved to destroy all the inhabitants, set fire to the city, and attempt, by a general sally, to force the enemy's lines, and retire to Cneius's camp, which was in sight of the place. The cruel massacre was put in execution; but the garrison, after having attempted to make their way through Cæsar's camp, were driven back into the town with great slaughter.

and makes himself master of it, and other places.

At length L. Minutius Flaccus, who commanded in the city, surrendered the place upon honourable terms, and put Cæsar in possession of the few magazines which the flames had spared. From Ategua, Cæsar marched to Bur-savolis, which he surprised, and put great numbers of the inhabitants to the sword, for having massacred such of their countrymen as had advised them to surrender. After the reduction of these two places, he endeavoured to find out the enemy, and force them to a general engagement. They were encamped in the neighbourhood of Ucubis, now Lucubi, according to Mariana, in the kingdom of Grenada. Cæsar posted himself at a small distance from the enemy's camp; a situation which gave occasion to daily skirmishes, in one of which Cæsar's cavalry was defeated with great slaughter. Pompey was so elated with this advantage, that he resolved to put the whole to the issue of a general action; and even wrote to his friends, that Cæsar had with him only raw and unexperienced soldiers; that he apprehended he would not venture an engagement, so long as he could avoid it, but that he would find means to force him to a battle. With this view Pompey marched towards the city of Hispalis, now Seville, and from thence advanced into the plains of Munda (X), where he encamped.

Pompey encamps in the plain of Munda.

Cæsar follows him thither.

Cæsar was no sooner informed of the enemy's motions, than he decamped, and, after two days easy march, appeared with his army in the same plain where Pompey was encamped. As the enemy were very impatient to come to an engagement, the next morning they drew up their army by break of day; but had the precaution to post themselves advantageously on a rising-ground, one side being defended by the city of Munda, and the other by a small river, which watered the plain, and by a marsh; so that the enemy could not attack them but in front.

(X) The city of Munda is placed, by the ancient geographers, in the province of Bæ-tica, about twenty miles from Malaga.

Cæsar

Cæsar likewise drew up his troops with great art, and having advanced a little way from his camp, ordered them to halt, expecting the enemy would abandon their advantageous post, and meet him half-way. As they did not stir, Cæsar began to fortify himself in that post; a feint which induced the young general, who looked upon this precaution as a sign of fear, to advance into the plain, and attack the enemy before they could secure themselves with any works. Pompey's army was the most numerous; for it consisted of thirteen legions, six thousand horse, and an incredible number of auxiliaries, among whom were all the forces of Bocchus, king of Mauritania, commanded by his two sons, both youths of great valour. Cæsar had eighty cohorts, three legions, namely, the third, the fifth, and the tenth, and a body of eight thousand horse.

Both armies being drawn up, the dictator gave the signal for the battle, and fell upon the enemy with his usual vigour and resolution. At the first onset, which was dreadful, the auxiliaries on both sides fled, leaving the Romans to decide the quarrel by themselves. Then the legionaries engaged, with a fury hardly to be expressed; Cæsar's troops being encouraged by the hopes of ending all their labours by this battle, and those of Pompey exerting themselves from necessity and despair, since most of them expected no quarter, as having been formerly pardoned, when defeated under Afranius and Petreius. Never was victory more obstinately disputed. Cæsar's legionaries, who had been used to conquer, found themselves so vigorously charged by the enemy, that they began to give ground; and though they did not turn their backs, yet it was manifest, that shame alone kept them in their posts. All authors agree, that Cæsar had never been in so great danger; and when he came back to his camp, he told his friends, that he had often fought for victory, but this was the first time he had fought for life. Thinking himself abandoned by fortune, which had hitherto favoured him, he is said to have entertained thoughts of stabbing himself with his own sword, and, by a voluntary death, preventing the disgrace of a defeat: but soon recollecting himself, concluded it would be more for his reputation, to fall by the enemy at the head of his troops, than in a fit of despair, by his own. Thus determined, he dismounted from his horse, and snatching a buckler from one of his soldiers, threw himself into the midst of the enemy, exclaiming, "Are you not ashamed

Yr. of Fl.
2308.
Ante Chr.
40.
U. C. 708.

*Battle of
Munda.*

*Cæsar in
distress.*

to deliver your general into the hands of boys?" At these words, the foldiers of the tenth legion, animated by the example of their general, attacked the enemy with fresh vigour, and made a dreadful havock. Notwithstanding their utmost efforts, Pompey's legions still kept their ground, and, though greatly fatigued, returned the charge with equal vigour. Then the Cæfareans began to despair of victory; and the dictator, running through the ranks of his disheartened legionaries, exerted all his authority and influence to keep them together. The battle had already lasted from the rising to the setting of the sun, without any considerable advantage on either side.

By a mere accident, gains at last a complete victory.

At length a mere accident decided the dispute in favour of the dictator. Bogud, a petty king of Mauritania, had joined Cæsar, soon after his arrival in Spain, with some squadrons of Numidian horse; but, in the beginning of the battle, being terrified at the shouting of the foldiers, intermingled with groans, and the clashing of their arms, he had abandoned his post, and retired, with the auxiliaries under his command, to a rising-ground, at a small distance from the enemy's camp. There he continued an idle spectator of the battle fought in the plain; but towards the evening he resolved to attack Pompey's camp, and accordingly flew thither with all his forces. Labienus, apprised of his design, hastened after him, to the defence of the camp; a motion which Cæsar observing, cried to his legionaries, "Courage, fellow-soldiers! the victory at length is our's; Labienus flies." This artifice had the desired effect: Cæsar's troops, believing that Labienus had really fled, made a last effort, and charged again with such impetuosity, that this wing was put to flight after a most obstinate dispute.

Young Pompey's gallant behaviour.

Though the enemy's left wing was thus entirely defeated, the right, where the elder Pompey commanded, still kept their ground for some time. Pompey dismounting from his horse, fought on foot like a private man in the first line, till most of his legionaries being killed, he was forced to save himself by flight from falling into the enemy's hand. Part of his troops fled to their camp, and part took shelter in the city of Munda. The camp was immediately attacked, and taken sword in hand; and as for the city, Cæsar, without loss of time, drew around it a line of circumvallation.

He is put to flight, and his camp taken.

This victory was gained on the sixteenth of the calends of April, when the Dionysian festival, or the Liberalia, were celebrated at Rome.

In

In this action Pompey lost thirty thousand men; among whom were the famous Labienus, Attius Varus, and three thousand Roman knights. Seventeen officers of distinction were taken, and all the enemy's eagles and ensigns, together with Pompey's fasces, which he had assumed as governor of Spain. On Cæsar's side only a thousand men were killed, and five hundred wounded ².

Cæsar having committed the direction of the siege to Fabius Maximus, one of his lieutenants, caused the bodies of Attius Varus and Labienus to be honourably interred, and marched towards Corduba, expecting to find there those persons of distinction who had disappeared. He was disappointed; for the elder Pompey fled, with a hundred and fifty horse, from the field of battle towards his navy, which lay at Carteia, a city about a hundred and seventy miles distant from Corduba. The inhabitants opened their gates to him, but were no sooner informed of the success of the battle of Munda, than they sent deputies to Cæsar, acquainting him, that they had secured Pompey. As a considerable number of the inhabitants still remained in Pompey's interest, the place was divided into two factions, which carried their animosities so far as to engage each other in the streets, and fill the city with blood and slaughter. In one of these tumultuary actions Pompey himself received several wounds; but having, nevertheless, after a warm dispute, made himself master of one of the gates, he escaped to his fleet, and put to sea, with thirty galleys. Didius, who commanded Cæsar's fleet at Gades, upon notice of his weighing anchor, immediately put to sea after him, having first taken on board a considerable body of horse, as well as foot, in case there should be occasion to pursue the enemy by land. After four days sail he came up with their galleys, and surprising them while both the soldiers and mariners were employed ashore in procuring necessary provisions, which they had not had time to take in at Carteia, he burnt several, took the rest, and thus cut off the enemy's retreat by sea.

The elder Pompey flies to his fleet.

which is destroyed by Didius, Cæsar's admiral.

Pompey endeavoured to save himself by flight across the mountains: but as he had been dangerously wounded at Carteia in his shoulder and left leg, and, besides, had now the misfortune, as all things seemed to conspire against him, to dislocate his ancle, so that he could not ride, he was soon overtaken by the enemy's horse. In this extremity, discovering a castle on a steep hill at a small dis-

Pompey flies to a castle;

² Plut. in Cæs. Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. ii. Auct. Comment. de Bell. Hisp.

*where he is
besieged
and killed.*

tance, he retired thither with the few troops that attended him. The Cæsareans, under the command of Cæsennius Lento, immediately attacked the place, hoping to carry it by assault; but were repulsed by a shower of darts, and pursued, in their retreat, with great slaughter. Didius immediately began to besiege the castle in a regular manner, and to inclose it by a line of circumvallation; which so terrified Pompey's men, that they resolved to quit the place, and abandon their leader, who was not in a condition to follow them, to the mercy of the enemy. Accordingly they made a sally; but were, for the most part, cut off in their retreat. Pompey retired with the rest; but not being able to keep pace with them, he concealed himself in a cave, where he was betrayed by some of his own soldiers, and delivered up to the Cæsareans, who immediately put him to death. Thus perished the elder Pompey, after having exerted his utmost efforts to revenge the death of his father. He had never before commanded in chief; but in this first essay performed such wonders, as forced Cæsar to own, that he had never encountered a more formidable enemy. The younger brother, some writers tell us, was not present at the battle of Munda, but remained in Corduba, to defend that important place in case of any misfortune; others say, that he retired to Corduba after the action. He was no sooner acquainted with the melancholy news of the defeat of his brother, than he divided what money he had among the cavalry who attended him, pretending, that he was going to meet Cæsar, and treat with him about an accommodation. On this pretence he left the city, fled in disguise to Celtiberia, and, joining the banditti of that country, concealed himself so well, that Cæsar could never discover the place of his retreat *.

*The fate of
the younger
Pompey.*

*Cæsar
marches to
Corduba.*

Corduba was defended by a body of troops that had escaped the slaughter, under the command of Scapula, a zealous republican. Upon Cæsar's approach, the governor armed all the slaves and vagabonds, who were very numerous in that great city. Leaving the thirteenth legion in the place, he marched out at the head of that undisciplined multitude, and possessed himself of a bridge. As Cæsar's army drew near, the rabble insultingly asked them whither they designed to fly; as if they had been the army defeated: but Cæsar, not thinking it advisable

* Auct. Bell. Hispan. Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. ii. Vell. Patere. lib. ii. Suet. in Julio. Dio, lib. xlv.

to force that post, fetched a long compass, passed the river without opposition, and appeared before Corduba: Scapula, now giving all up for lost, retired into the city; and, calling together his friends, gave them a sumptuous entertainment; which being ended, he put on his best apparel, distributed what money he had among his attendants, and then ascending a funeral pile, which he had prepared, ordered one of his catamites to dispatch him, while another set fire to the pile, which soon reduced the body to ashes.

Scapula orders one of his own men to dispatch him.

Upon Scapula's death, the city was divided into two factions: some declared for surrendering; others were for standing a siege; but the former prevailing, deputies were sent to Cæsar, who got possession of one of the gates. Then the thirteenth legion, which had been always attached to Pompey, began to set fire to the houses, choosing rather to perish with the city, than fall into the hands of the conqueror. A bloody battle ensued between them and the Cæsareans, in which most of the legionaries, with about twelve thousand of the inhabitants, were killed upon the spot. Cæsar, having thus made himself master of Corduba, at that time the capital of Bætica, marched from thence to Hispalis, now Seville. On his march he was met by Cæsennius, who gave him an account of the tragical end of the elder Pompey, and at the same time, presented to him the young Roman's head; which, some writers say ^b, he exposed to public view, while others tell us, that he caused it to be honourably interred ^c.

Cæsar possesses himself of the place.

As he drew near Hispalis, he was met by deputies from the city, who acquainted him with the divisions that reigned in the place, and intreated him to send with them a detachment, and an experienced commander, to keep the adverse party in awe. Cæsar readily complied with their request, and sent Caninius Rebilus, with some manipuli, who entered the town without opposition. In the mean time, Pompey's friends privately dispatched Philo, a zealous assertor of their party, into Lusitania, where he was well known, to beg assistance of Cæcilius Niger, who still supported Pompey's interest there, at the head of a considerable number of the natives. Philo soon returned with a numerous body of Lusitanians, and, being admitted into the city in the night, fell unexpectedly on the Cæsareans, and cut them all off. Cæsar immediately invested the town; but, in drawing the lines of circumval-

Hispalis receives a Cæsarean garrison.

which is cut off to a man by Philo.

^b Auct. Bell. Hispan. cap. 6.

^c Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

lation, left several open places for the Lusitanians to make their escape, lest despair should prompt them to set fire to the houses, and demolish the walls. At the same time he placed squadrons of horse on all the roads that led from that city, with orders to conceal themselves till the Lusitanians appeared; and then give them no quarter. They held out a long time with great obstinacy and resolution; but at length made a sally, and got safe beyond Cæsar's lines through the passages that had been left open for that purpose. While they thought themselves out of danger, they were attacked by the Cæsarean cavalry, and put to the sword, not one of them escaping the general slaughter. Cæsar, having thus recovered Hispalis, marched towards Asta, the inhabitants of which city sent ambassadors to meet him, and deliver the keys of their town.

Cæsar recovers Hispalis.

There he received the melancholy news of the death of Didius his admiral, who had distinguished himself, on all occasions, with great gallantry. After he had destroyed Pompey's fleet, he caused his vessels to be hauled on shore to be refitted; and, in the mean time, retired to a neighbouring castle, where he was unexpectedly attacked by a body of Lusitanians, who had escaped from the battle of Munda. The Roman admiral defended the place with great bravery; but the Lusitanians having set fire to his ships, he made a sally, and marched in good order to the sea-side, hoping to repulse the enemy, and preserve his navy. While his men were busy in extinguishing the flames, a body of Lusitanians, who had concealed themselves among the bushes, starting up, attacked him in the rear, and cut off his retreat to the castle, while two other numerous bodies fell upon him, the one in flank, the other in front. Didius, thus invested on all sides, behaved with signal bravery; but was overpowered, and, with most of his men, cut in pieces. Cæsar's concern for the loss of so brave an officer was in a great measure allayed by the agreeable news he received at the same time of the surrender of Munda, after a long and close siege. When the besieged saw themselves reduced to the utmost extremity, they deserted in great numbers to Cæsar, by whom they were kindly received, and incorporated among his troops: but it was previously agreed between them and their friends in the city, that upon a certain signal, the latter should make a vigorous sally, while the deserters should fall upon the legionaries in the camp. This plot being very seasonably discovered, the private men were, by

The fleet of Didius burnt, and himself killed.

by Fabius's orders, decimated, and all the officers executed without distinction.

The besieged made a sally, with a design to force their way through the enemy's works; but most of them having lost their lives in the attempt, Fabius carried the place by assault. From Munda he marched to Urfaon, a place equally fortified by art and nature, laid siege to it, and obliged the inhabitants to surrender, after they had defended the place with incredible bravery. Cæsar having reduced all the places which had declared for Pompey, and exacted immense contributions from the Spaniards, under pretence of punishing them for rebellion, retired to Hispalis; whence he marched, with the best part of his army, to New Carthage, where he was met by deputies from most cities of Spain, with whom he settled the affairs of the two Spanish provinces. Then he embarked for Rome, having finished, in seven months, an expedition which few generals would have completed in as many years⁴.

Munda taken;

and Urfaon.

Cæsar reached Rome in the beginning of October, and entered the city in triumph; a circumstance which disgusted the senate the more as he had never informed them of the victories he had obtained during the course of the civil wars. Not contented with having triumphed himself, he bestowed the same honour on two of his lieutenants, Q. Fabius Maximus and Q. Pedius.

Cæsar returns to Rome. His triumph offends the Romans.

The Romans, however, were soon reconciled to his sway, and vied with each other in heaping honours on the conqueror. They made him dictator for life; subjected all magistrates, even the tribunes of the people, to his power; decreed, that he alone should levy troops, command armies, declare war, make peace, take charge of the public money, and that all inferior magistrates should oblige themselves by oath to observe whatever decrees he should think proper to enact. Among other titles, that of emperor was given him; not in that sense in which it had been formerly bestowed on generals after some signal victory, but as it imported the greatest power and authority in the commonwealth. From him was derived the name of emperor or emperor, and likewise that of Cæsar, to his successors. This was the beginning of the imperial state of Rome, though it was not settled till some years after. In return for all this deference and submission, Cæsar made it his study to gain the affections of his people.

Created dictator for life;

and emperor, or emperor.

⁴ Aust. Bell. Hispan. Dio, Vell. Patercul. ibid. Cic. ad Atticum, lib. xiii. epist. 20.

His clemency.

inveterate enemies. He not only pardoned all those who had borne arms against him, but on several of them bestowed honours and offices; insomuch that the senate and people, to testify their gratitude for the mild use he made of his power, decreed a temple to Clemency.

He courts the affections of the people;

As the people still retained an affection for Pompey, he ordered all the statues of that great man, which had been thrown down, to be again erected; upon which Cicero said, that by raising Pompey's statues he had fixed his own. To gain the confidence of the senate, and the republican party, contrary to the advice of his best friends, he dismissed his guards, saying, it was better to suffer death once than to live always in fear of it. He entertained the citizens with public feasts and shews; and distributed corn among the poorer sort of people. To gratify his army, he sent out colonies to several places, of which the most remarkable were Carthage and Corinth.

and of the nobility.

He attached most of the nobility to his interest, by raising them to the chief offices in the state, and trusting them with the government of the provinces that were subject to Rome; ingratiating himself with all orders of men by his gentle deportment, so as to produce a chearful and willing submission. Though he had been invested with the consular dignity for ten years, yet he named others to that eminent post in the republic, appointing Q. Fabius Maximus and C. Trebonius consuls for the remaining part of that year.

Increases the number of magistrates and senators.

As the dictator had many friends to gratify, he increased the number of prætors to sixteen, and the quæstors to forty; he created six new ædiles, and augmented the number of the other curule magistrates in proportion. As there still remained many unrewarded, who had served him with great fidelity, he allotted them places in the senate, by which means the number of the senators rose from three hundred to nine hundred. This measure gave great offence to the conscript fathers; because among those, whom the dictator raised to that high station, were many common soldiers, sons of freedmen, foreigners lately admitted to the Roman citizenship, Gauls and Spaniards. Cæsar, having thus debased the senate, began to look upon the fathers with contempt, and consider them as his vassals and creatures. Of this contempt, he gave, not long after, a signal instance. The senate, having passed a decree, conferring on him some extravagant honours, went in a body to present him with it, as he was sitting on the rostra administering justice: though the

He offends the senate.

consuls,

consuls, prætors, and all the curule magistrates then in Rome, attended the senate; yet the dictator received them with the pride and haughtiness of a sovereign, without condescending to rise. We are told by Plutarch, that he offered to stand up to the senate; but that Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, prevented him: "Remember, (said he), you are Cæsar, and suffer them to pay you that respect which is due to your dignity." It is certain, however, that his behaviour offended not only the conscript fathers but the people; the latter thinking the affront on the senate equally reflected on the whole republic. Cæsar, sensible of the false step he had taken, immediately retired, and caused a report to be spread by his emissaries, that his sitting had been caused by the distemper to which he was subject, namely, the falling-sickness; which, he said, discomposed the senses of those who were affected with it, if they talked much standing*.

He afterwards gave a fresh occasion of resentment, by affronting the tribunes. While Cæsar was sitting in a golden chair upon the rostra, to view the ceremony of the Lupercalia, Marc Antony, who was then Cæsar's colleague in the consulship, after having run up and down the city naked, as was usual during that solemnity, came into the forum; and, falling down before Cæsar, presented him with a diadem, wreathed with laurel. A small shout was raised by some, who had been placed near the dictator for that purpose; but, when Cæsar refused it, he was applauded by the multitude. Antony offered the crown again; and, upon Cæsar's second refusal, all who were present testified their satisfaction anew with loud acclamations. Then Cæsar rose up, and ordered the crown to be carried into the Capitol, saying, that Jupiter alone was king of the Romans. Next morning Cæsar's statues were found with royal diadems on their heads; but Flavius and Marullus, two tribunes of the people, not only pulled them off, but caused those to be apprehended, and committed to prison, who the day before had applauded Antony, while he attempted to put the diadem on Cæsar's head. The people followed their tribunes with loud acclamations, comparing them to the famous Brutus, the founder of the republic. This behaviour Cæsar highly resented, and displaced the two tribunes, against whom he inveighed in a public speech. On the same occasion, he

Marc Antony offers him a crown.

His statues crowned.

* Plut. in Cæs.

ridiculed the people, calling them Bruti and Cumæi; i. e. *beasts* and *fools* (Z).

A conspiracy formed against him.

A few days after this transaction, as he returned from Alba to Rome, some of his friends saluted him with the title of king; but he answered aloud, "My title is Cæsar, not king." Notwithstanding this affected moderation, the zealous republicans began to form cabals, and to consult privately on the proper measures for delivering Rome from the yoke of a single master. The chief of the conspirators was C. Cassius, an enemy to Cæsar on a private account, the dictator having, a few months before, bestowed the first and most honourable prætorship on Brutus, though he could not help owning that Cassius had the best claim to it. Cassius, therefore, partly out of republican zeal, and partly from a spirit of revenge, formed the plan of the conspiracy, and then imparted it to a few, whom he knew to be secret enemies both to Cæsar's person and power.

Brutus being highly esteemed by the people and senate, Cassius looked upon him as the most proper person for carrying on the conspiracy. He was thought to be descended, by his father's side, from the famous Junius Brutus, who drove out the Tarquins (A), and, by his mother's

(Z) The Cumæi were noted for their stupidity. "Cumæ is stupid to a proverb," says Strabo (5); and he gives us these reasons for it. The first, that they were three hundred years before they thought of laying a duty on merchandize imported into their harbours, and before they found that they inhabited a maritime city. The second, that, having mortgaged their porticoes for a certain sum of money, and failing to pay it at the time named in the contract, their creditors would not allow them to walk under them: but, when the rains began to fall, those creditors, being touched with compassion, caused it to be published, that the Cumæans might,

if they pleased, take shelter under their own porticoes; which gave occasion to this raillery, "The Cumæans had not the sense to know, that they had a right to stand under their own porticoes when it rained, till they were informed of it by the voice of the crier."

(A) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Dio Cassius, assure us, that Marcus Brutus was not descended from the famous Junius Brutus. The Junian family was, according to them, divided into two branches, the one patrician, the other plebeian: the former ended in Brutus himself, after he had sacrificed his two sons to the safety of his country; the other flourished many ages

(5) Strab. lib. xiii.

after,

another's side, from the Servilii, one of the most illustrious families of Rome; and was both nephew and son-in-law to Cato of Utica. Though he was a zealous republican, and fully convinced that the commonwealth could be no longer maintained without the death of the dictator, the honours and favours he had received at Cæsar's hands restrained him from using violent measures: he had not only been pardoned himself, and obtained the same indulgence for many of his friends after the battle of Pharsalia, but was one in whom Cæsar had a particular confidence. He possessed at that time the most honourable prætorship; was named for the consulship four years after, and designed, in all appearance by Cæsar for his successor: for being once accused as engaged in a conspiracy against him, Cæsar would not hearken to the accusation, saying, that Brutus was not so ambitious but he could wait with patience till he was taken off by a natural death.

Cassius, therefore, who had already formed the design of assassinating Cæsar, being desirous of drawing into the plot a man of so great credit as Brutus, and not daring to discourse the matter with him openly, laid, in the nighttime, papers about his chair, where he used to sit as prætor, and determine causes, with sentences to this import: "You are asleep, Brutus; you are no longer Brutus:" and under the statue of the famous Junius Brutus he wrote the following words: "Would to heaven thou wast alive, or some of thy descendents resembled thee!" Cassius perceiving that these sentences made an impression on his mind, first employed his wife Junia, who was sister to Brutus, to revive in the breast of her brother those sentiments which were peculiar to their family; and afterwards resolved, at all hazards, to discover his design, not doubting but he should be able to draw Brutus into the

Cassius endeavours to draw him into the conspiracy.

after, and furnished Rome with many heroes; among the rest with Marcus Brutus, of whom we are speaking in this place. As he bore the same name with the first consul, and was of the same family, the common people believed him to be descended from the first Brutus. Plutarch, upon the authority of Posidonius, the philosopher, was of the same opinion; and will have Brutus

to be sprung from a third son of Junius Brutus, who was a child when his two brothers were executed by their father's command. Some writers, the more to debase Brutus, who acted a chief part in the conspiracy, pretend that he was descended from a mean family, which had been raised to honours and offices in the republic but a few years before.

plot,

plot, who, though he did not hate the tyrant, was a declared enemy to tyranny.

and succeeded.

As it was reported that the senate would meet in a few days, in order to deliberate on the subject of giving Cæsar the title of king, Cassius took this occasion to pay a visit to Brutus, and to ask him, whether he designed to be present in the senate on the calends of March, when Cæsar's friends were to propose giving him that title (B). Brutus answered, that he designed to absent himself that day. Cassius finding him averse to this design of the senate, flattered his passions, and inflamed his patriotism so effectually, that he entered into his views, and from that moment took upon himself the whole management of the conspiracy. The name of Brutus soon engaged a great many citizens of the first rank, and not a few of these had served under Cæsar (C). These individuals having resolved

Many others engaged in the conspiracy.

(B) It is very strange that a man of Cæsar's character, at the head of the Roman empire, should be ambitious of a title which every citizen of Rome was taught from his infancy to despise; a title which Cæsar could at any time have conferred upon the lowest of his dependents. It is not impossible but that the historians and writers of this period have made Cæsar's character answerable for the folly of some of his adherents, and the servile adulation of the senate. Cicero and Plutarch ought to be read with caution when they treat of Cæsar's ambition.

(C) Among others, C. Trebonius, Servius Sulpitius Galba, the two Servillii Casca, Publius Caius, Decimus Brutus Albinus, Tullius Cimber, and Lucius Minutius Bacilius. The other conspirators had been always enemies to Cæsar, such as L. Cassius, brother to C. Cassius, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, P. Turullius, C. Attilius, L. Petronius, C.

Cornelius Cinna, Cassius Parmensis, L. and C. Cæcilius, Rubrius Ruga, M. Spurius, P. Sextus Nafso, Pontius Aquila, and Antistius Labeco. Besides these there were sixty whose names have not been transmitted to posterity. As for Cicero, Brutus did not think it advisable to trust him with the secret. The conspirators wished to have engaged the famous Statilius, who affected to imitate Cato. Brutus, in order to discover his true sentiments, asked him, in a private conversation, which of the two evils was the greatest, "To bear tamely the yoke of a tyrant, or to run the risk of a civil war by shaking it off." To this question Statilius answered, without hesitation, that he had rather patiently suffer the oppressions of an arbitrary master, than the cruelties and disorders which generally attend civil dissensions. Brutus likewise endeavoured to engage in the conspiracy Favonius, a philosopher of great reputation: he

solved upon his assassination, began to prepossess the multitude against him, by false reports, implying, that he designed to fix the seat of his empire in Egypt or Phrygia, and transport thither all the riches of Italy, abandoning Rome to the mercy of his creatures and favourites. Caesar, hearing these groundless reports, began to suspect that some plot was in agitation. His friends believing that Marc Antony and Dolabella were concerned in it, advised him to be upon his guard, and watch them narrowly. Caesar answered, that he was not afraid of those plump jolly fellows, but rather of pale lean men, such as Cassius. However, he neglected the necessary precautions for his safety, and was more intent on making due preparations for putting in execution the vast designs he had formed, than in guarding himself against the attempts of his domestic enemies.

and endeavour to estrange the minds of the people from him.

He had resolved to subdue Parthia and Hyrcania, penetrate by the Caspian Sea into Scythia, and take his route homewards through Germany and Gaul, after having added all the countries in this immense circuit to the Roman empire, which in that case would have been bounded on every side by the sea. He had already ordered sixteen legions, and ten thousand horse, to march towards Brundisium, and was himself to follow them in a few days. His friends, desirous to see him honoured with the title of king, before he left Rome, asserted, that the books of the Sibyls declared, that the Parthians could never be overcome by the Romans, unless they fought under the conduct of a king. Aurelius Cotta, who had the sacred volumes in his care, intended, it seems, to communicate this prophecy to the conscript fathers; and to propose that Caesar should only be styled dictator in Italy, but that he should be acknowledged as king, and take upon him that title among all foreign nations subject to the Roman republic.

Caesar's vast designs.

The senate was appointed to meet for this purpose on the ides of March; and that day the conspirators fixed upon as the most proper for putting their design in execution, since Caesar would not fail attending the senate on such an occasion, and it was safer to fall upon him there, most of the senators being privately enemies to him, than in any

The conspirators fix on the ides of March for executing their designs.

he proposed the same question civil war was worse than the most oppressive tyranny. declared, that in his opinion a

other place, where the populace might divert the blow. The ancient historians are full of prodigies and apparitions, which in their opinion were manifest presages of Cæsar's tragical death (D).

(D) They tell us, that men were seen in the air all on fire, encountering each other; that a prodigious flame seemed to issue from the hand of a soldier's servant, inasmuch that those who saw it thought he must be burnt; but nevertheless he received no hurt; that as Cæsar was sacrificing, the victim was found without a heart; that Spurina, a famous augur, bid him beware of the ides of March; for that he was then threatened with some great danger. They add, that when the day was come, Cæsar, as he went to the senate, meeting the augur, said to him, by way of raillery, "The ides of March are come." "They are come, (answered the augur calmly); but they are not past." The night before the plot was put in execution, he supped with M. Lepidus, and the discourse turning upon the kind of death which seemed best, Cæsar, busy as he was in signing some letters, before any of the company had time to deliver his opinion, cried out, "Of all deaths a sudden one is the best." After supper he retired to his own house, where both he and his wife Calpurnia, passed the night in great uneasiness. He was scarce fallen asleep, when the doors and windows of the apartment where he lay flew open. Being startled at the noise and the light, which broke all

on a sudden into his room, he sat up in his bed; when, by the moonshine, he perceived Calpurnia fast asleep; but heard her utter, in her dream, some inarticulate words, mixed with groans. She dreamt, at that time, that the pinnacle, which the senate had allowed to be raised on Cæsar's house, by way of ornament and grandeur, was fallen down; and also fancied, that she was weeping over Cæsar, and holding him, all covered with wounds and blood, in her arms. When it was day, she begged of Cæsar, that he would not stir out, but adjourn the senate to another time; and that, if he slighted her dreams, he would be pleased to consult the gods by sacrifices, and other kinds of divination. He complied with her request; sacrifices were offered early in the morning; and, according to the report of the priests, all the victims proved inauspicious. Cæsar was not a man to be easily intimidated; he had braved death on a thousand occasions, and gained many victories; among the rest, that of Munda, when the auspices threatened him with utter destruction. But, however, as he had never before discovered in Calpurnia any kind of superstition, he now began to look upon her fears and apprehensions as inspirations from heaven, and forebodings, which ought not always to be neglected.

On the very day Brutus, as prætor urbanus, administered justice in the forum, without betraying the least marks of perturbation, until he was alarmed by several successive incidents. He was told that his wife Porcia lay at the point of death. She was the daughter of Cato, and the only person, not concerned in the conspiracy, to whom Brutus had revealed it. By education she was an enthusiastic republican, and thought it incumbent upon her to shew she inherited the virtue and courage of her father. Perceiving in her husband undoubted marks of internal agitation, and being well acquainted with his political principles, she concluded that he was embarked in some great enterprize. In order therefore to convince him that she was not unworthy to be trusted with the secret, she wounded herself in the thigh with a razor; and he was so well satisfied with this mark of her fortitude, that he made her acquainted with all the circumstances of the conspiracy. But when the day of action arrived, her nature rebelled against her philosophy. She was seized with fear and trepidation; at every noise she started up, and running into the street, enquired with a distracted look, of every passenger, what Brutus was doing in the forum: at length her terrors waxed too strong for her constitution, and she fainted away. It was on this occasion that a messenger was dispatched to Brutus, to let him know that Porcia was dying. He descended immediately from his tribunal; but instead of going home, went to Pompey's porch, adjoining to the hall, where the senators were to assemble, and there waited for Cæsar, with the other conspirators. But as the dictator did not appear, though the day was far spent, being detained at home by his wife and the augurs, they were all under the greatest uneasiness, and ascribed his delay to the discovery of the plot.

The constancy and intrepidity of Brutus.

While they were thus waiting, a citizen coming up to Casca, and taking him by the hand, "You concealed (said he) the secret from me; but Brutus has told me the whole." At which words Casca being greatly alarmed, the other said, smiling, "How came you, Casca, to be so rich on a sudden, as to stand for the ædileship?" These words convinced him that the citizen did not allude to their great design. The senator Popilius Lænas having saluted Brutus and Cassius, whispered them softly in the ear, "My wishes are with you; may you accomplish what you design! but I advise you to make no delay, for the thing is now no secret." Having thus spoken, he

Several accidents disturb the conspirators.

left them in the utmost consternation. Decimus Brutus furnished Albinus, a man in whom Cæsar had such confidence, that he had made him his second heir, being no less alarmed at these words than the rest of the conspirators, resolved to go in person to Cæsar's house, to learn what kept him from coming to the senate. Accordingly, with the approbation of Brutus and Cassius, he flew thither; and being immediately admitted into the dictator's apartment, asked him, with his usual familiarity, what detained him so long from appearing in the senate? Cæsar, who esteemed him as one of his best friends, imparted, in confidence, what his wife had dreamt the night before, and what the augurs had declared. Decimus having ridiculed those omens, and rallied him on his complaisance for his wife, took him by the hand, and led him out of the house.

Artemidorus delivers a paper to Cæsar, containing the discovery of the plot.

Cæsar had but just gone forth, when an unknown slave made towards him; but, not being able to get near him by reason of the crowd, he went into his house, and delivered himself into the hands of Calpurnia; begging her to secure him till Cæsar returned; because he had matters of the utmost importance to communicate. One Artemidorus, a native of the island of Cnidus, by profession a rhetorician, and intimately acquainted with most of the conspirators, put into Cæsar's hand a paper, containing a discovery of the plot, exhorting him to read it immediately, if he had any regard to his own safety. Cæsar attempted several times to read it; but being diverted by the crowd of those who came to speak to him, he kept it in his hand, till he reached the senate-house.

The conspirators alarmed.

At the door of the great hall, where the conscript fathers were assembled, Popilius Lænas, who but a little before had wished Brutus and Cassius success in their undertaking, discoursed a great while with him in private, Cæsar standing still all the time; and seeming very attentive. The conspirators, apprehensive that this conference was a discovery of their design, were strangely agitated: looking upon one another, they laid their hands on the daggers they had concealed under their robes, and were drawing them, with a design to stab themselves; but judging from Lænas's looks and gestures, which they narrowly watched, and from the calmness and unconcern that appeared in Cæsar's countenance, that the conspiracy was not the subject of their conference, they recollected themselves, and were soon after delivered from all their fears.

Lænas,

Lænas, in retiring, was observed to kiss Cæsar's hand; a plain indication that he had been petitioning, and not accusing. Cæsar, having dismissed Lænas, entered the hall where the senators were assembled; and the fathers stood up to receive him.

Some of the conspirators stood behind the chair, which was placed for the dictator in the middle of the hall; others went to meet him, pretending to join their entreaties with those of Metellus Cimber, in behalf of his brother, who was banished. In the mean time Trebonius (L) drew Marc Antony, who was faithful to Cæsar, and a man of great strength and resolution, towards the door, and entertained him in the porch with a long discourse contrived for that purpose. When the dictator was seated, the conspirators, crowding round him, renewed their supplications in favour of Cimber's brother, and taking him by the hand, kissed it, in appearance, with great respect. But the dictator rejected their petition; and, upon their urging him farther, and growing very importunate, he first reprimanded them severely, and, afterwards, starting up, pushed them away. Then Cimber, laying hold of the dictator's robe with both hands, pulled it off from his shoulders, the signal for assassination. In that instant Servilius Casca, who stood behind him, drawing his dagger, gave him the first wound in the neck, which was not mortal nor dangerous. Cæsar, immediately turning about, seized Casca by the hand which held the

The conspirators crowd round Cæsar in the senate-house;

and fall upon him.

(L) Plutarch, in the life of Cæsar, tells us, that Antony was detained without by Brutus Albinus; and, in the life of Brutus, that he was kept in conversation by Trebonius. How could he be guilty of so manifest a contradiction, in the relation of an action so considerable and notorious? He was certainly mistaken in the life of Cæsar, and in that of Brutus hits upon the truth; since all the historians, who mention this action, agree, that Trebonius entertained Antony at the door. Cicero, who is more to be relied on than all other

historians, says, in express terms, in his second Philippic, addressing his speech to Antony himself, "Cum interficeretur Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari." "When Cæsar was about to be dispatched, we then saw thee called aside by Trebonius:" and, in the thirteenth, "Sceleratum Trebonium! quo scelere? nisi quod te idibus Martiis a debita tibi peste seduxit." "Wicked Trebonius! Wherefore wicked? unless that on the ides of March he withdrew thee from deserved destruction."

dagger,

*The circumstances
of his
death.*

dagger, exclaiming, "Wicked Casca, what dost thou mean?" Those who were not privy to the design, were struck with such horror at the attempt, that they could neither fly, nor assist Cæsar; nor even utter a single word. The conspirators inclosed him on all sides, with their drawn daggers in their hands; so that, which way soever he turned, he met with wounds, and saw their daggers levelled against him. Cassius, flying at him with the most impetuous rage, wounded him severely in the head, calling out to his confederates to follow his example, and rid Rome of her tyrant. Thus encouraged, they all pressed upon him; but, as each was eager to plunge his dagger in Cæsar's body, and have the glory of dispatching him, they wounded one another. Brutus, in particular, received a wound in the hand from Cassius; and most of them were stained either with the dictator's blood, or their own. Cæsar thus assaulted, defended himself for some time, though without arms, till seeing Brutus with his bloody poignard among his assassins, his mighty heart seemed to burst with astonishment and grief: "What (cried he) my son Brutus too!" then covering his face with his robe, he submitted to his fate. He fell by the statue of Pompey, and there expired, after having received three-and-twenty wounds, while the senate beheld this catastrophe with silence and amazement; and not one individual made the least attempt to interpose in his defence ^b.

Thus died, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, the greatest man that Rome, or perhaps the world, ever saw. Without pretending to palliate the excesses of his youth, or justify the schemes of his ambition, we hazard nothing in saying, he was one of the most accomplished heroes that ever lived. With the most shining talents for war and legislation, he possessed a liberality of spirit, an elegance of taste and manners, a generosity of heart, a greatness of mind, and a humanity of disposition, which distinguished him from all the other great men of that republic, who were generally cruel, ferocious, and implacable.

Julius Cæsar is accused of having overthrown the liberties of his country. But what liberty did it enjoy before he appeared on the stage, while Rome was desolated by the civil butcheries of Marius and Sylla? and what liberty

^b Plut. in Cæs. & Bruto. Flor. lib. iv. cap. 2. Suet. in Julio, cap. 31, 32, 39. Appian. lib. ii. p. 512. Cic. lib. ii. de Divin.

did she retrieve, when Cæsar, the supposed obstacle, was removed? The truth is, the Romans were become so profligate, vicious, and venal; and such universal corruption of morals prevailed, that they neither deserved to enjoy, nor were they capable of relishing the blessings of genuine liberty; and Cæsar was the only person then living who could restore peace, order, and security, give consistency to their government, and stability to their empire.

After all, he fell a victim to the envy, ambition, and revenge of Cassius, who was the first mover and soul of the conspiracy. This man, who was notorious for cruelty, rapine, and oppression, made a tool of Brutus. He cajoled him with insidious encomiums on his virtue, philosophy, and patriotism; and inflamed his enthusiasm by citing the example of his uncle and father-in-law Cato, and expatiating on the character of the elder Brutus, the expulser of Tarquin, whom Marcus affected to number among his ancestors.

END OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME



